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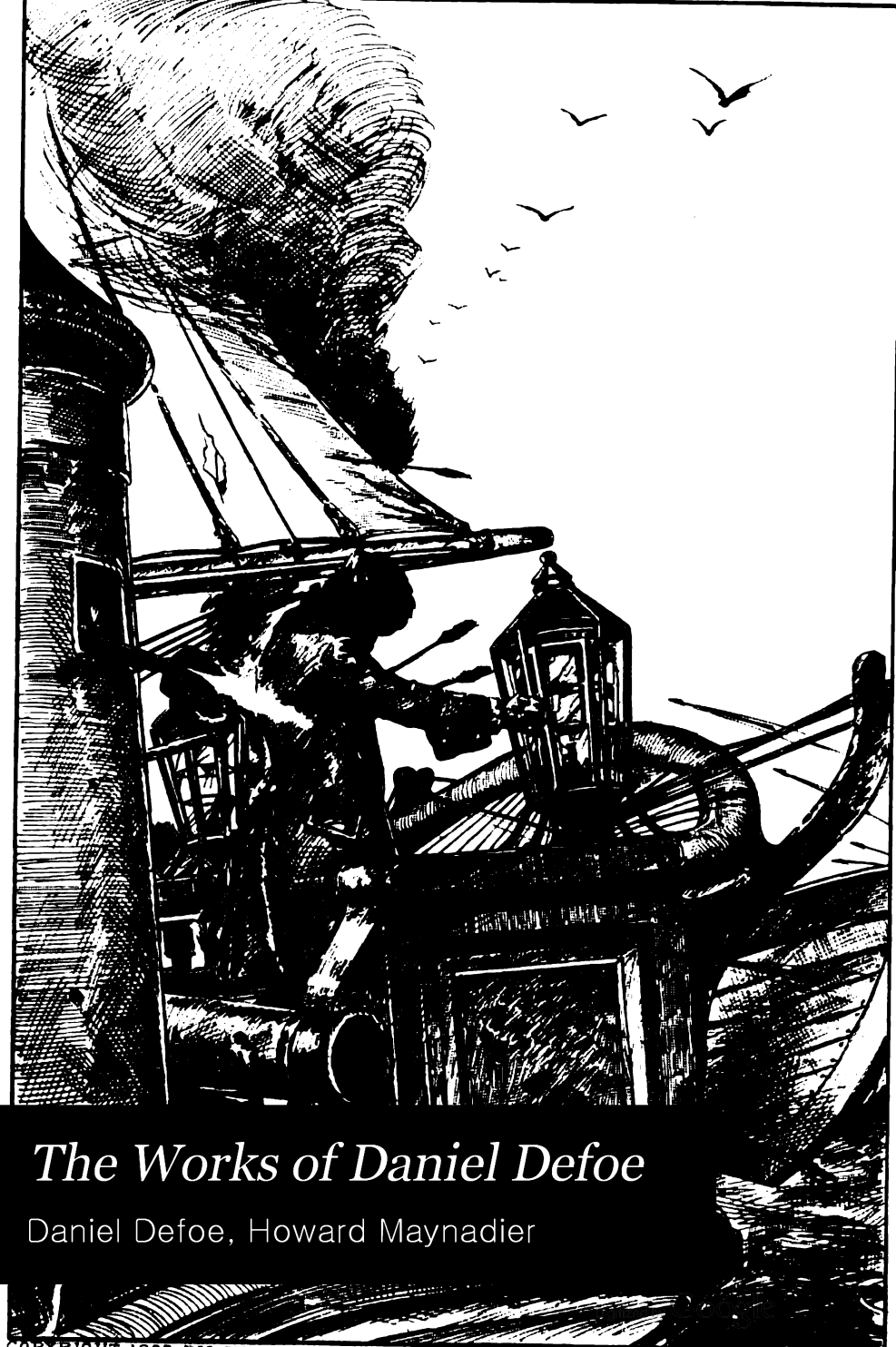

The Works of Daniel Defoe

Daniel Defoe, Howard Maynadier

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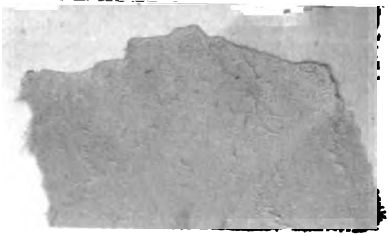

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THE WORKS

OF

DANIEL DEFOE

IN SIXTEEN VOLUMES

VOLUME TWO

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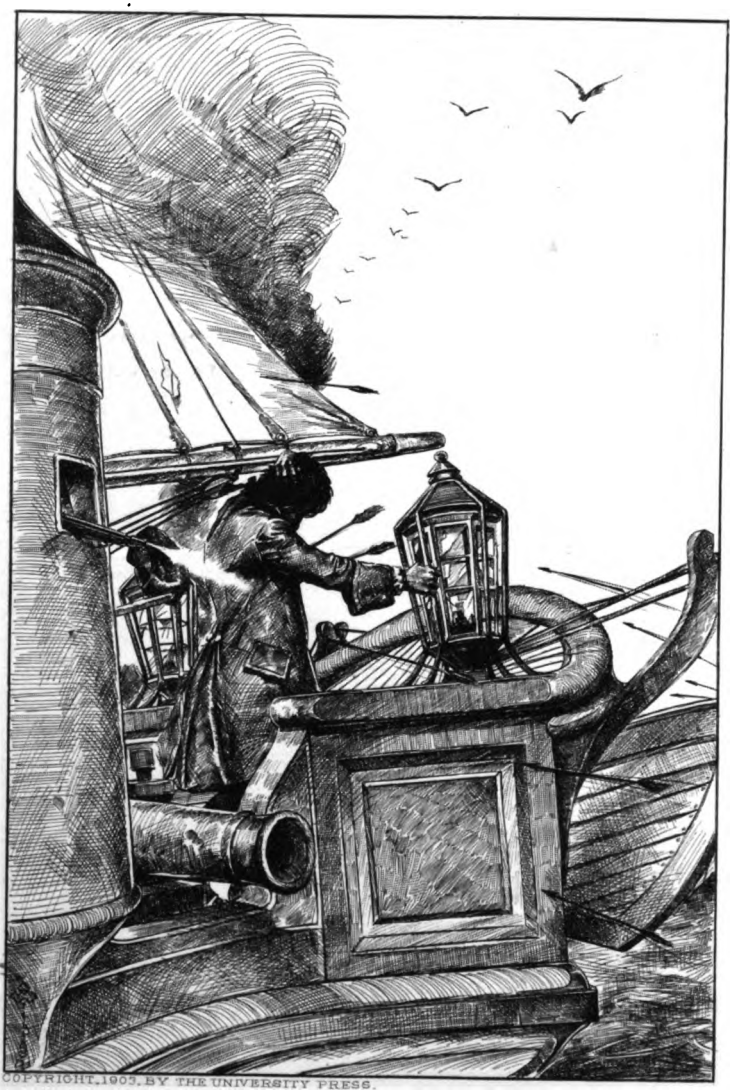

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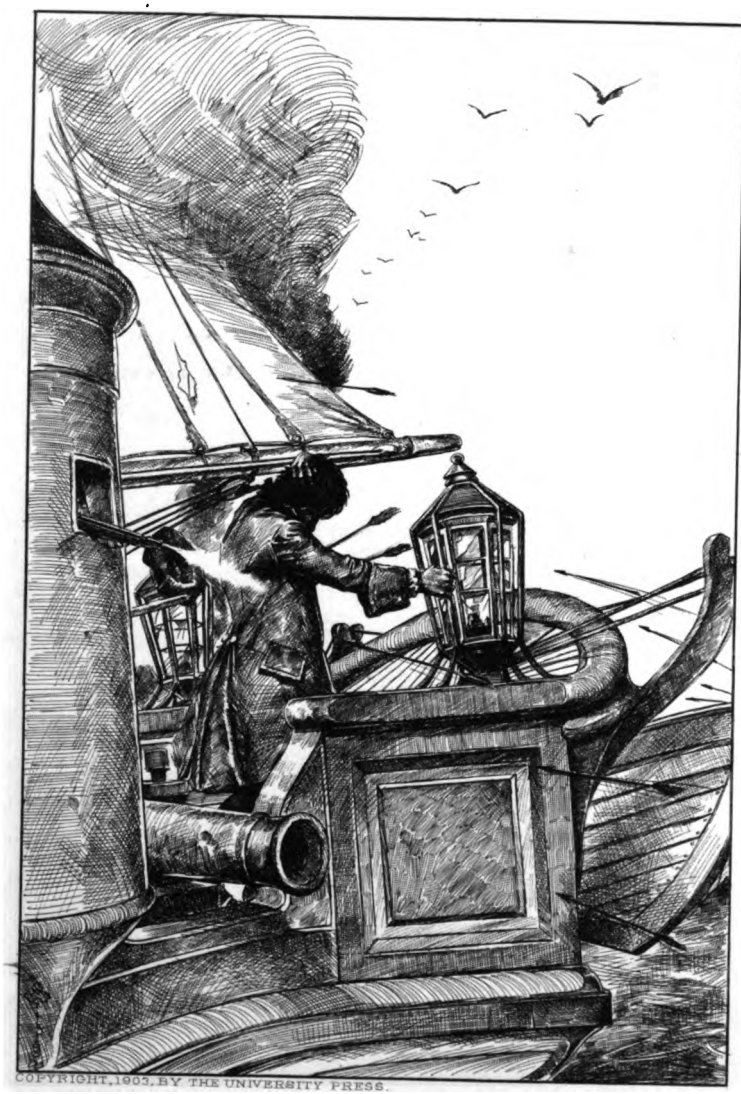

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THE DEATH OF FRIDAY

The poor fellow was shot with no less than three arrows

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THE WORKS OF DANIEL DEFOE

VOLUME TWO

THE LIFE AND STRANGE ADVENTURES OF ROBINSON CRUSOE

COMPLETE IN THREE PARTS

PART II.

WITH THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE, AND AN INTRODUCTION BY

G. H. MAYNADIER, PH.D.

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

NEW YORK

THOMAS Y. CROWELL & COMPANY

PUBLISHERS

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THE success the former part of this work has met with in the world, has yet been no other than is acknowledged to be due to the surprising variety of the subject and to the agreeable manner of the performance.

All the endeavours of envious people to reproach it with being a romance, to search it for errors in geography, inconsistency in the relation, and contradictions in the fact, have proved abortive, and as impotent as malicious.

The just application of every incident, the religious and useful inferences drawn from every part, are so many testimonies to the good design of making it public, and must legitimate all the part that may be called invention or parable in the story.

The second part, if the Editor's opinion may pass, is (contrary to the usage of second parts) every way as entertaining as the first, contains as strange and surprising incidents, and as great a variety of them; nor is the application less serious and suitable, and doubtless will, to the sober as well as ingenious reader, be every way as profitable and diverting; and this makes the abridging this work as scandalous as it is knavish and ridiculous, seeing, while to shorten the book that they may seem to reduce the value, they strip it of all those reflections, as well religious as moral, which are not only the greatest beauties of the work, but are calculated for the infinite advantage of the reader.

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By this they leave the work naked of its brightest ornaments; and if they would at the same time pretend that the author has supplied the story out of his invention, they take from it the improvement which alone recommends that invention to wise and good men.

The injury these men do the proprietor of this work is a practice all honest men abhor, and he believes he may challenge them to show the difference between that and robbing on the highway, or breaking open a house.

If they can't show any difference in the crime, they will find it hard to show why there should be any difference in the punishment; and he will answer for it that nothing shall be wanting on his part to do them justice.

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FARTHER ADVENTURES *of* ROBINSON CRUSOE

THAT homely proverb used on so many occasions in England, viz., "That what is bred in the bone will not go out of the flesh," was never more verified than in the story of my life. Any one would think that, after thirty-five years' affliction, and a variety of unhappy circumstances, which few men, if any, ever went through before, and after near seven years of peace and enjoyment in the fulness of all things, grown old, and when, if ever, it might be allowed me to have had experience of every state of middle life, and to know which was most adapted to make a man completely happy; I say, after all this, any one would have thought that the native propensity to rambling, which I gave an account of in my first setting out into the world to have been so predominant in my thoughts, should be worn out, the volatile part be fully evacuated, or at least condensed, and I might, at sixty-one years of age, have been a little inclined to stay at home, and have done venturing life and fortune any more.

Nay, farther, the common motive of foreign adventures was taken away in me; for I had no fortune to make, I had nothing to seek. If I had gained ten thousand pounds, I had been no richer; for I had already sufficient for me, and for those I had to leave it to, and that I had was visibly increasing; for having no great family, I could not spend the income of

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what I had unless I would set up for an expensive way of living, such as a great family, servants, equipage, gaiety, and the like, which were things I had no notion of, or inclination to; so that I had nothing indeed to do but to sit still and fully enjoy what I had got, and see it increase daily upon my hands.

Yet all these things had no effect upon me, or at least not enough to resist the strong inclination I had to go abroad again, which hung about me like a chronical distemper; particularly the desire of seeing my new plantation in the island, and the colony I left there, ran in my head continually. I dreamed of it all night, and my imagination ran upon it all day; it was uppermost in all my thoughts, and my fancy worked so steadily and strongly upon it, that I talked of it out of my sleep. In short, nothing could remove it out of my mind; it even broke so violently into all my discourses, that it made my conversation tiresome, for I could talk of nothing else; all my discourse run into it, even to impertinence, and I saw it myself.

I have often heard persons of good judgment say, that all the stir people make in the world about ghosts and apparitions is owing to the strength of imagination, and the powerful operation of fancy in their minds; that there is no such thing as a spirit appearing, or a ghost walking, and the like; that people's poring affectionately upon the past conversation of their deceased friends so realises it to them, that they are capable of fancying upon some extraordinary circumstances that they see them, talk to them, and are answered by them, when, in truth, there is nothing but shadow and vapour in the thing, and they really know nothing of the matter.

For my part, I know not to this hour whether there are any such things as real apparitions, spectres, or walking of people after they are dead, or whether

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there is anything in the stories they tell us of that kind, more than the product of vapours, sick minds, and wandering fancies. But this I know, that my imagination worked up to such a height, and brought me into such ecstasies of vapours, or what else I may call it, that I actually supposed myself oftentimes upon the spot, at my old castle behind the trees, saw my old Spaniard, Friday's father, and the reprobate sailors I left upon the island; nay, I fancied I talked with them, and looked at them so steadily, though I was broad awake, as at persons just before me; and this I did till I often frighted myself with the images my fancy represented to me. One time in my sleep I had the villainy of the three pirate sailors so lively related to me by the first Spaniard and Friday's father, that it was surprising. They told me how they barbarously attempted to murder all the Spaniards, and that they set fire to the provisions they had laid up, on purpose to distress and starve them; things that I had never heard of, and that indeed were never all of them true in fact; but it was so warm in my imagination, and so realised to me, that to the hour I saw them I could not be persuaded but that it was or would be true; also how I resented it when the Spaniard complained to me, and how I brought them to justice, tried them before me, and ordered them all three to be hanged. What there was really in this, shall be seen in its place; for however I came to form such things in my dream, and what secret converse of spirits injected it, yet there was very much of it true. I say, I own that this dream had nothing in it literally and specifically true; but the general part was so true, the base villainous behaviour of these three hardened rogues was such, and had been so much worse than all I can describe, that the dream had too much similitude of the fact; and as I would afterwards

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have punished them severely, so if I had hanged them all I had been much in the right, and should have been justifiable both by the laws of God and man.

But to return to my story. In this kind of temper I had lived some years. I had no enjoyment of my life, no pleasant hours, no agreeable diversion but what had something or other of this in it; so that my wife, who saw my mind so wholly bent upon it, told me very seriously one night that she believed there was some secret powerful impulse of Providence upon me, which had determined me to go thither again; and that she found nothing hindered my going, but my being engaged to a wife and children. She told me, that it was true she could not think of parting with me; but as she was assured that if she was dead it would be the first thing I would do, so, as it seemed to her that the thing was determined above, she would not be the only obstruction; for if I thought fit, and resolved to go —— here she found me very intent upon her words, and that I looked very earnestly at her, so that it a little disordered her, and she stopped. I asked her why she did not go on, and say out what she was going to say. But I perceived her heart was too full, and some tears stood in her eyes. "Speak out, my dear," said I; "are you willing I should go?" "No," says she very affectionately, "I am far from willing; but if you are resolved to go," says she, "and rather than I will be the only hindrance, I will go with you; for though I think it a most preposterous thing for one of your years, and in your condition, yet if it must be," said she again, weeping, "I won't leave you; for if it be of Heaven, you must do it. There is no resisting it; and if Heaven makes it your duty to go, He will also make it mine to go with you, or otherwise dispose of me, that I may not obstruct it."

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This affectionate behaviour of my wife's brought me a little out of the vapours, and I began to consider what I was a-doing. I corrected my wandering fancy, and began to argue with myself sedately what business I had, after threescore years, and after such a life of tedious sufferings and disasters, and closed in so happy and easy a manner — I say, what business I had to rush into new hazards, and put myself upon adventures fit only for youth and poverty to run into.

With those thoughts, I considered my new engagement; that I had a wife, one child born, and my wife then great with child of another; that I had all the world could give me, and had no need to seek hazards for gain; that I was declining in years, and ought to think rather of leaving what I had gained, than of seeking to increase it; that as to what my wife had said, of its being an impulse from Heaven, and that it should be my duty to go, I had no notion of that; so after many of these cogitations, I struggled with the power of my imagination, reasoned myself out of it, as I believe people may always do in like cases, if they will; and, in a word, I conquered it, composed myself with such arguments as occurred to my thought, and which my present condition furnished me plentifully with; and particularly, as the most effectual method, I resolved to divert myself with other things, and to engage in some business that might effectually tie me up from any more excursions of this kind; for I found that thing return upon me chiefly when I was idle, had nothing to do, nor anything of moment immediately before me.

To this purpose I bought a little farm in the county of Bedford, and resolved to remove myself thither. I had a little convenient house upon it, and the land about it I found was capable of great

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improvement, and that it was many ways suited to my inclination, which delighted in cultivating, managing, planting, and improving of land; and particularly being an inland country, I was removed from conversing among ships, sailors, and things relating to the remote part of the world.

In a word, I went down to my farm, settled my family, bought me ploughs, harrows, a cart, waggon, horses, cows, sheep; and setting seriously to work, became in one half year a mere country gentleman. My thoughts were entirely taken up in managing my servants, cultivating the ground, enclosing, planting, &c.; and I lived, as I thought, the most agreeable life that nature was capable of directing, or that a man always bred to misfortunes was capable of being retreated to.

I farmed upon my own land, I had no rent to pay, was limited by no articles. I could pull up or cut down as I pleased. What I planted was for myself, and what I improved was for my family; and having thus left off the thoughts of wandering, I had not the least discomfort in any part of life, as to this world. Now I thought indeed that I enjoyed the middle state of life that my father so earnestly recommended to me, and lived a kind of heavenly life, something like what is described by the poet upon the subject of a country life:

> "Free from vices, free from care,
> Age has no pain, and youth no snare."

But in the middle of all this felicity, one blow from unforeseen Providence unhinged me at once; and not only made a breach upon me, inevitable and incurable, but drove me, by its consequences, into a deep relapse into the wandering disposition; which, as I may say, being born in my very blood, soon recovered its hold of me, and, like the returns of a

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violent distemper, came on with an irresistible force upon me, so that nothing could make any more impression upon me. This blow was the loss of my wife.

It is not my business here to write an elegy upon my wife, give a character of her particular virtues, and make my court to the sex by the flattery of a funeral sermon. She was, in a few words, the stay of all my affairs, the centre of all my enterprises, the engine that, by her prudence, reduced me to that happy compass I was in, from the most extravagant and ruinous project that fluttered in my head, as above, and did more to guide my rambling genius than a mother's tears, a father's instructions, a friend's counsel, or my own reasoning powers could do. I was happy in listening to her tears, and in being moved by her entreaties, and to the last degree desolate and dislocated in the world by the loss of her.

When she was gone, the world looked awkwardly round me. I was as much a stranger in it, in my thoughts, as I was in the Brazils when I went first on shore there; and as much alone, except as to the assistance of servants, as I was in my island. I knew neither what to do, or what not to do. I saw the world busy round me, one part labouring for bread, and the other part squandering in vile excesses or empty pleasures, equally miserable, because the end they proposed still fled from them; for the man of pleasure every day surfeited of his vice, and heaped up work for sorrow and repentance; and the men of labour spent their strength in daily strugglings for bread to maintain the vital strength they laboured with, so living in a daily circulation of sorrow, living but to work, and working but to live, as if daily bread were the only end of wearisome life, and a wearisome life the only occasion of daily bread.

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This put me in mind of the life I lived in my kingdom, the island, where I suffered no more corn to grow because I did not want it; and bred no more goats, because I had no more use for them; where the money lay in the drawer till it grew mouldy, and had scarce the favour to be looked upon in twenty years.

All these things, had I improved them as I ought to have done, and as reason and religion had dictated to me, would have taught to me to search farther than human enjoyments for a full felicity, and that there was something which certainly was the reason and end of life, superior to all these things, and which was either to be possessed, or at least hoped for, on this side the grave.

But my sage counsellor was gone; I was like a ship without a pilot, that could only run afore the wind. My thoughts ran all away again into the old affair; my head was quite turned with the whimsies of foreign adventures; and all the pleasant innocent amusements of my farm and my garden, my cattle and my family, which before entirely possessed me, were nothing to me, had no relish, and were like music to one that has no ear, or food to one that has no taste. In a word, I resolved to leave off housekeeping, let my farm, and return to London; and in a few months after I did so.

When I came to London, I was still as uneasy as I was before. I had no relish to the place, no employment in it, nothing to do but to saunter about like an idle person, of whom it may be said he is perfectly useless in God's creation, and it is not one farthing matter to the rest of his kind whether he be dead or alive. This also was the life which of all circumstances of life was the most my aversion, who had been all my days used to an active life; and I would often say to myself, "A state of idle-

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ness is the very dregs of life;" and indeed I thought I was much more suitably employed when I was twenty-six days a-making me a deal board.

It was now the beginning of the year 1693, when my nephew, whom, as I had observed before, I had brought up to the sea, and had made him commander of a ship, was come home from a short voyage to Bilboa, being the first he had made; and he came to me, and told me that some merchants of his acquaintance had been proposing to him to go a voyage for them to the East Indies and to China, as private traders. "And now, uncle," says he, "if you will go to sea with me, I 'll engage to land you upon your old habitation in the island, for we are to touch at the Brazils."

Nothing can be a greater demonstration of a future state, and of the existence of an invisible world, than the concurrence of second causes with the ideas of things which we form in our minds, perfectly reserved, and not communicated to any in the world.

My nephew knew nothing how far my distemper of wandering was returned upon me, and I knew nothing of what he had in his thoughts to say, when that very morning, before he came to me, I had, in a great deal of confusion of thought, and revolving every part of my circumstances in my mind, come to this resolution, viz., that I would go to Lisbon, and consult with my old sea-captain; and so, if it was rational and practicable, I would go and see the island again, and see what was become of my people there. I had pleased myself with the thoughts of peopling the place, and carrying inhabitants from hence, getting a patent for the possession, and I know not what; when in the middle of all this in comes my nephew, as I have said, with his project of carrying me thither, in his way to the East Indies.

I paused awhile at his words, and looking steadily

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at him, "What devil," said I, "sent you of this unlucky errand?" My nephew startled, as if he had been frighted at first; but perceiving I was not much displeased with the proposal, he recovered himself. "I hope it may not be an unlucky proposal, sir," says he. "I dare say you would be pleased to see your new colony there, where you once reigned with more felicity than most of your brother monarchs in the world."

In a word, the scheme hit so exactly with my temper, that is to say, the prepossession I was under, and of which I have said so much, that I told him, in few words, if he agreed with the merchants, I would go with him; but I told him I would not promise to go any farther than my own island. "Why, sir," says he, "you don't want to be left there again, I hope?" "Why," said I, "can you not take me up again in your return?" He told me it could not be possible that the merchants would allow him to come that way with a loaded ship of such value, it being a month's sail out of his way, and might be three or four. "Besides, sir, if I should miscarry," said he, "and not return at all, then you would be just reduced to the condition you were in before."

This was very rational; but we both found out a remedy for it, which was to carry a framed sloop on board the ship, which, being taken in pieces, and shipped on board the ship, might, by the help of some carpenters, whom we agreed to carry with us, be set up again in the island, and finished, fit to go to sea in a few days.

I was not long resolving; for indeed the importunities of my nephew joined in so effectually with my inclination, that nothing could oppose me. On the other hand, my wife being dead, I had nobody concerned themselves so much for me as to persuade

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me one way or other, except my ancient good friend the widow, who earnestly struggled with me to consider my years, my easy circumstances, and the needless hazards of a long voyage; and above all, my young children. But it was all to no purpose; I had an irresistible desire to the voyage; and I told her I thought there was something so uncommon in the impressions I had upon my mind for the voyage, that it would be a kind of resisting Providence if I should attempt to stay at home; after which she ceased her expostulations, and joined with me, not only in making provision for my voyage, but also in settling my family affairs for my absence, and providing for the education of my children.

In order to this I made my will, and settled the estate I had in such a manner for my children, and placed in such hands, that I was perfectly easy and satisfied they would have justice done them, whatever might befall me; and for their education, I left it wholly to my widow, with a sufficient maintenance to herself for her care; all which she richly deserved, for no mother could have taken more care in their education, or understood it better; and as she lived till I came home, I also lived to thank her for it.

My nephew was ready to sail about the beginning of January 1694–95, and I with my man Friday went on board in the Downs the 8th, having, besides that sloop which I mentioned above, a very considerable cargo of all kinds of necessary things for my colony, which if I did not find in good condition, I resolved to leave so.

First, I carried with me some servants, whom I purposed to place there as inhabitants, or at least to set on work there upon my own account while I stayed, and either to leave them there, or carry them forward, as they should appear willing; particularly,

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I carried two carpenters, a smith, and a very handy, ingenious fellow, who was a cooper by trade, but was also a general mechanic; for he was dexterous at making wheels, and handmills to grind corn, was a good turner, and a good pot-maker. He also made anything that was proper to make of earth, or of wood; in a word, we called him our Jack-of-all-trades.

With these I carried a tailor, who had offered himself to go passenger to the East Indies with my nephew, but afterwards consented to stay on our new plantation, and proved a most necessary handy fellow as could be desired, in many other businesses besides that of his trade; for, as I observed formerly, necessity arms us for all employments.

My cargo, as near as I can collect, for I have not kept an account of the particulars, consisted of a sufficient quantity of linen, and some thin English stuffs for clothing the Spaniards, that I expected to find there, and enough of them as by my calculation might comfortably supply them for seven years. If I remember right, the materials I carried for clothing them with, gloves, hats, shoes, stockings, and all such things as they could want for wearing, amounted to above two hundred pounds, including some beds, bedding, and household stuff, particularly kitchen utensils, with pots, kettles, pewter, brass, &c., and near an hundred pound more in iron-work, nails, tools of every kind, staples, hooks, hinges, and every necessary thing I could think of.

I carried also an hundred spare arms, muskets, and fusees, besides some pistols, a considerable quantity of shot of all sizes, and two pieces of brass cannon; and because I knew not what time and what extremities I was providing for, I carried an hundred barrels of powder, besides swords, cutlasses, and the iron part of some pikes and halberds; so that, in short, we had

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a large magazine of all sorts of stores; and I made my nephew carry two small quarter-deck guns more than he wanted for his ship, to leave behind if there was occasion; that when we came there, we might build a fort, and man it against all sorts of enemies. And indeed I at first thought there was need enough for it all, and much more, if we hoped to maintain our possession of the island, as shall be seen in the course of that story.

I had not such bad luck in this voyage as I had been used to meet with, and therefore shall have the less occasion to interrupt the reader, who perhaps may be impatient to hear how matters went with my colony; yet some odd accidents, cross winds, and bad weather happened on this first setting out, which made the voyage longer than I expected it at first; and I, who had never made but one voyage, viz., my first voyage to Guinea, in which I might be said to come back again as the voyage was at first designed, began to think the same ill fate still attended me, and that I was born never to be contented with being on shore, and yet to be always unfortunate at sea.

Contrary winds first put us to the northward, and we were obliged to put in at Galway, in Ireland, where we lay windbound two and twenty days; but we had this satisfaction with the disaster, that provisions were here exceeding cheap, and in the utmost plenty; so that while we lay here we never touched the ship's stores, but rather added to them; also I took in several live hogs, and two cows and calves, which I resolved, if I had a good passage, to put on shore in my island; but we found occasion to dispose otherwise of them.

We set out the 5th of February from Ireland, and had a very fair gale of wind for some days. As I remember, it might be about the 20th of February, in the evening late, when the mate, having the watch,

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came into the round-house, and told us he saw a flash of fire, and heard a gun fired; and while he was telling us of it, a boy came in, and told us the boatswain heard another. This made us all run out upon the quarter-deck, where for a while we heard nothing, but in a few minutes we saw a very great light, and found that there was some very terrible fire at a distance. Immediately we had recourse to our reckonings, in which we all agreed that there could be no land that way in which the fire showed itself, no, not for five hundred leagues, for it appeared at W.N.W. Upon this we concluded it must be some ship on fire at sea; and as by our hearing the noise of guns just before we concluded it could not be far off, we stood directly towards it, and were presently satisfied we should discover it, because the farther we sailed the greater the light appeared, though the weather being hazy we could not perceive anything but the light for a while. In about half-an-hour's sailing, the wind being fair for us, though not much of it, and the weather clearing up a little, we could plainly discern that it was a great ship on fire in the middle of the sea.

I was most sensibly touched with this disaster, though not at all acquainted with the persons engaged in it. I presently recollected my former circumstances, and in what condition I was in when taken up by the Portugal captain; and how much more deplorable the circumstances of the poor creatures belonging to this ship must be if they had no other ship in company with them. Upon this I immediately ordered that five guns should be fired, one soon after another, that, if possible, we might give notice to them that there was help for them at hand, and that they might endeavour to save themselves in their boat; for though we could see the flame of the ship, yet they, it being night, could see nothing of us.

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We lay by some time upon this, only driving as the burning ship drove, waiting for daylight; when, on a sudden, to our great terror, though we had reason to expect it, the ship blew up in the air, and immediately, that is to say, in a few minutes, all the fire was out, that is to say, the rest of the ship sunk. This was terrible, and indeed an afflicting sight, for the sake of the poor men, who, I concluded, must be either all destroyed in the ship, or be in the utmost distress in their boat in the middle of the ocean, which, at present, by reason it was dark, I could not see. However, to direct them as well as I could, I caused lights to be hung out in all the parts of the ship where we could, and which we had lanthorns for, and kept firing guns all the night long, letting them know by this that there was a ship not far off.

About eight o'clock in the morning we discovered the ship's boats by the help of our perspective glasses, and found there were two of them, both thronged with people, and deep in the water. We perceived they rowed, the wind being against them, that they saw our ship, and did their utmost to make us see them.

We immediately spread our ancient to let them know we saw them, and hung a waft out as a signal for them to come on board, and then made more sail, standing directly to them. In little more than half-an-hour we came up with them, and in a word took them all in, being no less than sixty-four men, women, and children; for there were a great many passengers.

Upon the whole, we found it was a French merchant ship of three hundred tons, homeward bound from Quebec, in the river of Canada. The master gave us a long account of the distress of his ship, how the fire began in the steerage by the negligence

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of the steersman; but on his crying out for help was, as everybody thought, entirely put out, when they found that some sparks of the first fire had gotten into some part of the ship so difficult to come at, that they could not effectually quench it; till getting in between the timbers, and within the ceiling of the ship, it proceeded into the hold, and mastered all the skill and all the application they were able to exert.

They had no more to do then but to get into their boats, which, to their great comfort, were pretty large; being their longboat, and a great shallop, besides a small skiff, which was of no great service to them other than to get some fresh water and provisions into her, after they had secured their lives from the fire. They had indeed small hope of their lives by getting into these boats at that distance from any land, only, as they said well, that they were escaped from the fire, and had a possibility that some ship might happen to be at sea, and might take them in. They had sails, oars, and a compass, and were preparing to make the best of their way back to Newfoundland, the wind blowing pretty fair; for it blew an easy gale at S.E. by E. They had as much provisions and water as, with sparing it so as to be next door to starving, might support them about twelve days; in which, if they had no bad weather, and no contrary winds, the captain said he hoped he might get the banks of Newfoundland, and might perhaps take some fish to sustain them till they might go on shore. But there were so many chances against them in all these cases, such as storms to overset and founder them, rains and cold to benumb and perish their limbs, contrary winds to keep them out and starve them, that it must have been next to miraculous if they had escaped.

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In the midst of their consultations, every one being hopeless and ready to despair, the captain, with tears in his eyes, told me they were on a sudden surprised with the joy of hearing a gun fired, and after that four more; these were the five guns which I caused to be fired at first seeing the light. This revived their hearts, and gave them the notice which, as above, I desired it should, viz., that there was a ship at hand for their help.

It was upon hearing these guns that they took down their masts and sails; the sound coming from the windward, they resolved to lie by till morning. Some time after this, hearing no more guns, they fired three muskets, one a considerable while after another; but these, the wind being contrary, we never heard.

Some time after that again they were still more agreeably surprised with seeing our lights and hearing the guns, which, as I have said, I caused to be fired all the rest of the night. This set them to work with their oars to keep their boats ahead, at least that we might the sooner come up with them; and at last, to their inexpressible joy, they found we saw them.

It is impossible for me to express the several gestures, the strange ecstasies, the variety of postures, which these poor delivered people ran into to express the joy of their souls at so unexpected a deliverance. Grief and fear are easily described; sighs, tears, groans, and a very few motions of the head and hands make up the sum of its variety; but an excess of joy, a surprise of joy, has a thousand extravagancies in it. There were some in tears, some raging and tearing themselves, as if they had been in the greatest agonies of sorrow; some stark raving and downright lunatic; some ran about the ship stamping with their feet, others wringing their

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hands; some were dancing, some singing, some laughing, more crying; many quite dumb, not able to speak a word; others sick and vomiting, several swooning, and ready to faint; and a few were crossing themselves and giving God thanks.

I would not wrong them neither. There might be many that were thankful afterward; but the passion was too strong for them at first, and they were not able to master it; they were thrown into ecstasies and a kind of frenzy, and it was but a very few that were composed and serious in their joy.

Perhaps the case may have some addition to it from the particular circumstance of that nation they belonged to; I mean the French, whose temper is allowed to be more volatile, more passionate, and more sprightly, and their spirits more fluid, than in other nations. I am not philosopher enough to determine the cause, but nothing I had ever seen before came up to it. The ecstasies poor Friday, my trusty savage, was in when he found his father in the boat came the nearest to it; and the surprise of the master and his two companions, whom I delivered from the villains that set them on shore in the island, came a little way towards it; but nothing was to compare to this, either that I saw in Friday, or anywhere else in my life.

It is further observable that these extravagancies did not show themselves in that different manner I have mentioned in different persons only, but all the variety would appear in a short succession of moments in one and the same person. A man that we saw this minute dumb, and, as it were, stupid and confounded, should the next minute be dancing and hallooing like an antic; and the next moment be tearing his hair, or pulling his clothes to pieces, and stamping them under his feet like a madman; and a

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few moments after that we should have him all in tears, then sick, then swooning; and had not immediate help been had would, in a few moments more, have been dead. And thus it was, not with one or two, or ten or twenty, but with the greatest part of them; and, if I remember right, our surgeon was obliged to let above thirty of them blood.

There were two priests among them, one an old man, and the other a young man; and that which was strangest was, that the oldest man was the worst. As soon as he set his foot on board our ship, and saw himself safe, he dropped down stone dead, not the least sign of life could be perceived in him. Our surgeon immediately applied proper remedies to recover him, and was the only man in the ship that believed he was not dead. At length he opened a vein in his arm, having first chafed and rubbed the part, so as to warm it as much as possible. Upon this the blood, which only dropped at first, flowed something freely. In three minutes after the man opened his eyes; and about a quarter of an hour after that he spoke, grew better, and, in a little time, quite well. After the blood was stopped he walked about, and told us he was perfectly well, took a dram of cordial which the surgeon gave him, and was what we called, come to himself. About a quarter of an hour after they came running into the cabin to the surgeon, who was bleeding a French woman that had fainted, and told him the priest was gone stark mad. It seems he had begun to revolve the change of his circumstance, and again this put him into an ecstasy of joy; his spirits whirled about faster than the vessels could convey them; the blood grew hot and feverish; and the man was as fit for Bedlam as any creature that ever was in it. The surgeon would not bleed him again in that condition, but gave him something to doze and put him to sleep, which, after

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some time, operated upon him, and he waked the next morning perfectly composed and well.

The younger priest behaved with great command of his passions, and was really an example of a serious, well-governed mind. At his first coming on board the ship he threw himself flat on his face, prostrating himself in thankfulness for his deliverance, in which I unhappily and unseasonably disturbed him, really thinking he had been in a swoon; but he spake calmly, thanked me, told me he was giving God thanks for his deliverance, and begged me to leave him a few moments, and that next to his Maker he would give me thanks also.

I was heartily sorry that I disturbed him, and not only left him, but kept others from interrupting him also. He continued in that posture about three minutes, or a little more, after I left him, then came to me, as he had said he would, and with a great deal of seriousness and affection, but with tears in his eyes, thanked me that had, under God, given him and so many miserable creatures their lives. I told him I had no room to move him to thank God for it rather than me; but I added, that it was nothing but what reason and humanity dictated to all men, and that we had as much reason as he to give thanks to God, who had blessed us so far as to make us the instruments of His mercy to so many of His creatures.

After this the young priest applied himself to his country-folks; laboured to compose them; persuaded, entreated, argued, reasoned with them, and did his utmost to keep them within the exercise of their reason; and with some he had success, though others were, for a time, out of all government of themselves.

I cannot help committing this to writing, as perhaps it may be useful to those into whose hands it may fall, for the guiding themselves in all the

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extravagancies of their passions; for if an excess of joy can carry men out to such a length beyond the reach of their reason, what will not the extravagancies of anger, rage, and a provoked mind carry us to? And, indeed, here I saw reason for keeping an exceeding watch over our passions of every kind, as well those of joy and satisfaction, as those of sorrow and anger.

We were something disordered by these extravagancies among our new guests for the first day; but when they had been retired, lodgings provided for them as well as our ship would allow, and they had slept heartily, as most of them did, they were quite another sort of people the next day.

Nothing of good manners, or civil acknowledgments for the kindness shown them, was wanting. The French, 't is known, are naturally apt to exceed that way. The captain and one of the priests came to me the next day; and desiring to speak with me and my nephew, the commander, began to consult with us what should be done with them; and first they told us, that as we had saved their lives, so all they had was little enough for a return to us for that kindness received. The captain said they had saved some money and some things of value in their boats, catched hastily up out of the flames; and if we would accept it, they were ordered to make an offer of it all to us; they only desired to be set on shore somewhere in our way, where, if possible, they might get passage to France.

My nephew was for accepting their money at first word, and to consider what to do with them afterwards; but I overruled him in that part, for I knew what it was to be set on shore in a strange country; and if the Portugal captain that took me up at sea had served me so, and took all I had for my deliverance, I must have starved, or have been as much a

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slave at the Brazils as I had been in Barbary, the mere being sold to a Mahometan excepted; and perhaps a Portuguese is not much a better master than a Turk, if not, in some cases, a much worse.

I therefore told the French captain that we had taken them up in their distress, it was true; but that it was our duty to do so, as we were fellow-creatures, and as we would desire to be so delivered, if we were in the like or any other extremity; that we had done nothing for them but what we believed they would have done for us, if we had been in their case and they in ours; but that we took them up to save them, not to plunder them; and it would be a most barbarous thing to take that little from them which they saved out of the fire, and then set them on shore and leave them; that this would be first to save them from death, and then to kill them ourselves; save them from drowning and abandon them to starving; and therefore I would not let the least thing be taken from them. As to setting them on shore, I told them indeed that was an exceeding difficulty to us, for that the ship was bound to the East Indies; and though we were driven out of our course to the westward a very great way, and perhaps were directed by Heaven on purpose for their deliverance, yet it was impossible for us wilfully to change our voyage on this particular account; nor could my nephew, the captain, answer it to the freighters, with whom he was under charter-party to pursue his voyage by the way of Brazil; and all I knew we could do for them was, to put ourselves in the way of meeting with other ships homeward-bound from the West Indies, and get them passage, if possible, to England or France.

The first part of the proposal was so generous and kind, they could not but be very thankful for it; but they were in a very great consternation, especially the

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passengers, at the notion of being carried away to the East Indies; and they then entreated me that, seeing I was driven so far to the westward before I met with them, I would at least keep on the same course to the banks of Newfoundland, where it was probable I might meet with some ship or sloop that they might hire to carry them back to Canada, from whence they came.

I thought this was but a reasonable request on their part, and therefore I inclined to agree to it; for indeed I considered that to carry this whole company to the East Indies would not only be an intolerable severity upon the poor people, but would be ruining our whole voyage by devouring all our provisions; so I thought it no breach of charter-party, but what an unforeseen accident made absolutely necessary to us, and in which no one could say we were to blame: for the laws of God and Nature would have forbid that we should refuse to take up two boats full of people in such a distressed condition; and the nature of the thing, as well respecting ourselves as the poor people, obliged us to set them on shore somewhere or other for their deliverance. So I consented that we should carry them to Newfoundland, if wind and weather would permit; and, if not, that I would carry them to Martinico, in the West Indies.

The wind continued fresh easterly, but the weather pretty good; and as the winds had continued in the points between N.E. and S.E. a long time, we missed several opportunities of sending them to France; for we met several ships bound to Europe, whereof two were French, from St. Christopher's; but they had been so long beating up against the wind, that they durst take in no passengers for fear of wanting provisions for the voyage, as well for themselves as for those they should take in, so we were obliged to go

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on. It was about a week after this that we made the banks of Newfoundland, where, to shorten my story, we put all our French people on board a bark, which they hired at sea there, to put them on shore, and afterwards to carry them to France, if they could get provisions to victual themselves with. When I say all the French went on shore, I should remember that the young priest I spoke of, hearing we were bound to the East Indies, desired to go the voyage with us, and to be set on shore on the coast of Coromandel, which I readily agreed to, for I wonderfully liked the man, and had very good reason, as will appear afterwards; also four of the seamen entered themselves on our ship, and proved very useful fellows.

From hence we directed our course to the West Indies, steering away S. and S. by E. for about twenty days together, sometimes little or no wind at all, when we met with another subject for our humanity to work upon, almost as deplorable as that before.

It was in the latitude of 27 degrees 5 minutes N., and the 19th day of March 1694–95, when we espied a sail, our course S. E. and by S. We soon perceived it was a large vessel, and that she bore up to us; but could not at first know what to make of her till, after coming a little nearer, we found she had lost her maintopmast, foremast, and bowsprit; and presently she fired a gun as a signal of distress. The weather was pretty good, wind at N. N. W. a fresh gale, and we soon came to speak with her.

We found her a ship of Bristol bound home from Barbadoes, but had been blown out of the road at Barbadoes, a few days before she was ready to sail, by a terrible hurricane, while the captain and chief mate were both gone on shore; so that besides the terror of the storm, they were but in an indifferent

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case for good artists to bring the ship home. They had been already nine weeks at sea, and had met with another terrible storm after the hurricane was over, which had blown them quite out of their knowledge to the westward, and in which they lost their masts, as above. They told us they expected to have seen the Bahama Islands, but were then driven away again to the south-east by a strong gale of wind at N.N.W., the same that blew now, and having no sails to work the ship with but a main-course, and a kind of square sail upon a jury-foremast, which they had set up, they could not lie near the wind, but were endeavouring to stand away for the Canaries.

But that which was worst of all was, that they were almost starved for want of provisions, besides the fatigues they had undergone. Their bread and flesh was quite gone, they had not one ounce left in the ship, and had had none for eleven days. The only relief they had was, their water was not all spent, and they had about half a barrel of flour left; they had sugar enough; some succades or sweetmeats they had at first, but they were devoured; and they had seven casks of rum.

There was a youth and his mother and a maid-servant on board, who were going passengers, and thinking the ship was ready to sail unhappily came on board the evening before the hurricane began; and having no provisions of their own left, they were in a more deplorable condition than the rest; for the seamen, being reduced to such an extreme necessity themselves, had no compassion, we may be sure, for the poor passengers; and they were indeed in a condition that their misery is very hard to describe.

I had perhaps not known this part if my curiosity had not led me, the weather being fair, and the wind abated, to go on board the ship. The second mate, who upon this occasion commanded the ship, had been

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on board our ship; and he told me indeed, they had three passengers in the great cabin, that were in a deplorable condition. "Nay," says he, "I believe they are dead, for I have heard nothing of them for above two days; and I was afraid to inquire after them," said he, "for I had nothing to relieve them with."

We immediately applied ourselves to give them what relief we could spare; and indeed I had so far overruled things with my nephew, that I would have victualled them, though we had gone away to Virginia, or any part of the coast of America, to have supplied ourselves; but there was no necessity for that.

But now they were in a new danger, for they were afraid of eating too much, even of that little we gave them. The mate, or commander, brought six men with him in his boat, but these poor wretches looked like skeletons, and were so weak, they could hardly sit to their oars. The mate himself was very ill, and half starved, for he declared he had reserved nothing from the men, and went share and share alike with them in every bit they ate.

I cautioned him to eat sparingly, but set meat before him immediately, and he had not eaten three mouthfuls before he began to be sick, and out of order; so he stopped a while, and our surgeon mixed him up something with some broth, which he said would be to him both food and physic; and after he had taken it, he grew better. In the meantime, I forgot not the men. I ordered victuals to be given them, and the poor creatures rather devoured than eat it; they were so exceeding hungry, that they were in a kind ravenous, and had no command of themselves; and two of them eat with so much greediness, that they were in danger of their lives the next morning.

The sight of these people's distress was very moving to me, and brought to mind what I had a terrible

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prospect of at my first coming on shore in the island, where I had neither the least mouthful of food, or any prospect of procuring any, besides the hourly apprehension I had of being made the food of other creatures. But all the while the mate was thus relating to me the miserable condition of the ship's company, I could not put out of my thought the story he had told me of the three poor creatures in the great cabin, viz., the mother, her son, and the maid-servant, whom he had heard nothing of for two or three days, and whom he seemed to confess they had wholly neglected, their own extremities being so great; by which I understood, that they had really given them no food at all, and that therefore they must be perished, and be all lying dead perhaps on the floor or deck of the cabin.

As I therefore kept the mate, whom we then called captain, on board with his men, to refresh them, so I also forgot not the starving crew that were left on board, but ordered my own boat to go on board the ship, and with my mate and twelve men to carry them a sack of bread, and four or five pieces of beef to boil. Our surgeon charged the men to cause the meat to be boiled while they stayed, and to keep guard in the cook-room, to prevent the men taking it to eat raw, or taking it out of the pot before it was well boiled, and then to give every man but a very little at a time; and by this caution he preserved the men, who would otherwise have killed themselves with that very food that was given them on purpose to save their lives.

At the same time I ordered the mate to go into the great cabin, and see what condition the poor passengers were in, and if they were alive to comfort them, and give them what refreshment was proper; and the surgeon gave him a large pitcher with some of the prepared broth which he had given

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the mate that was on board, and which he did not question would restore them gradually.

I was not satisfied with this; but, as I said above, having a great mind to see the scene of misery, which I knew the ship itself would present me with, in a more lively manner than I could have it by report, I took the captain of the ship, as we now called him, with me, and went myself a little after in their boat.

I found the poor men on board almost in a tumult to get the victuals out of the boiler before it was ready; but my mate observed his order, and kept a good guard at the cook-room door; and the man he placed there, after using all possible persuasion to have patience, kept them off by force. However, he caused some biscuit-cakes to be dipped in the pot, and softened with the liquor of the meat, which they called brews, and gave them every one one, to stay their stomachs, and told them it was for their own safety that he was obliged to give them but a little at a time. But it was all in vain; and had I not come on board, and their own commander and officers with me, and with good words, and some threats also of giving them no more, I believe they would have broke into the cook-room by force, and tore the meat out of the furnace; for words are indeed of very small force to a hungry belly. However, we pacified them, and fed them gradually and cautiously for the first time, and the next time gave them more, and at last filled their bellies, and the men did well enough.

But the misery of the poor passengers in the cabin was of another nature, and far beyond the rest; for as first the ship's company had so little for themselves, it was but too true that they had at first kept them very low, and at last totally neglected them; so that for six or seven days, it might be

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said, they had really had no food at all, and for several days before very little. The poor mother, who, as the men reported, was a woman of good sense and good breeding, had spared all she could get so affectionately for her son, that at last she entirely sunk under it; and when the mate of our ship went in, she sat upon the floor or deck, with her back up against the sides, between two chairs, which were lashed fast, and her head sunk in between her shoulders, like a corpse, though not quite dead. My mate said all he could to revive and encourage her, and with a spoon put some broth into her mouth. She opened her lips, and lifted up one hand, but could not speak; yet she understood what he said, and made signs to him, intimating that it was too late for her, but pointed to her child, as if she would have said they should take care of him.

However, the mate, who was exceedingly moved with the sight, endeavoured to get some of the broth into her mouth; and, as he said, got two or three spoonfuls down, though I question whether he could be sure of it or not; but it was too late, and she died the same night.

The youth, who was preserved at the price of his most affectionate mother's life, was not so far gone; yet he lay in a cabin-bed as one stretched out, with hardly any life left in him. He had a piece of an old glove in his mouth, having eaten up the rest of it. However, being young, and having more strength than his mother, the mate got something down his throat, and he began sensibly to revive, though, by giving him some time after but two or three spoonfuls extraordinary, he was very sick, and brought it up again.

But the next care was the poor maid. She lay all along upon the deck hard by her mistress, and just like one that had fallen down with an apoplexy, and

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struggled for life. Her limbs were distorted, one of her hands was clasped round the frame of a chair, and she gripped it so hard, that we could not easily make her let go. Her other arm lay over her head, and her feet lay both together, set fast against the frame of the cabin-table. In short, she lay just like one in the last agonies of death; and yet she was alive too.

The poor creature was not only starved with hunger, and terrified with the thoughts of death, but, as the men told us afterwards, was broken-hearted for her mistress, whom she saw dying for two or three days before, and whom she loved most tenderly.

We knew not what to do with this poor girl; for when our surgeon, who was a man of very great knowledge and experience, had with great application recovered her as to life, he had her upon his hand as to her senses, for she was little less than distracted for a considerable time after, as shall appear presently.

Whoever shall read these memorandums, must be desired to consider that visits at sea are not like a journey into the country, where sometimes people stay a week or a fortnight at a place. Our business was to relieve this distressed ship's crew, but not to lie by for them; and though they were willing to steer the same course with us for some days, yet we could carry no sail to keep pace with a ship that had no masts. However, as their captain begged of us to help him to set up a main-topmast, and a kind of a topmast to his jury-foremast, we did, as it were, lie by him for three or four days; and then having given him five barrels of beef, and a barrel of pork, two hogsheads of biscuit, and a proportion of peas, flour, and what other things we could spare; and taking three casks of sugar, some rum, and some pieces of eight of them for satisfaction, we left them, taking on board with us, at their own earnest re-

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quest, the priest, the youth, and the maid, and all their goods.

The young lad was about seventeen years of age, a pretty, well-bred, modest, and sensible youth; greatly dejected with the loss of his mother, and, as it seems, had lost his father but a few months before at Barbadoes. He begged of the surgeon to speak to me to take him out of the ship; for, he said, the cruel fellows had murdered his mother; and indeed so they had, that is to say, passively; for they might have spared a small sustenance to the poor helpless widow, that might have preserved her life, though it had been but just to keep her alive. But hunger knows no friend, no relation, no justice, no right, and therefore is remorseless, and capable of no compassion.

The surgeon told him how far we were going, and how it would carry him away from all his friends, and put him perhaps in as bad circumstances, almost, as those we found him in; that is to say, starving in the world. He said he mattered not whither he went, if he was but delivered from the terrible crew he was among; that the captain (by which he meant me, for he could know nothing of my nephew) had saved his life, and he was sure would not hurt him; and as for the maid, he was sure, if she came to herself, she would be very thankful for it, let us carry them where we would. The surgeon represented the case so affectionately to me that I yielded, and we took them both on board, with all their goods, except eleven hogsheads of sugar, which could not be removed, or come at; and as the youth had a bill of lading for them, I made his commander sign a writing, obliging himself to go, as soon as he came to Bristol, to one Mr. Rogers, a merchant there, to whom the youth said he was related, and to deliver a letter which I wrote to him, and all the goods he

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had belonging to the deceased widow; which I suppose was not done; for I could never learn that the ship came to Bristol, but was, as is most probable, lost at sea, being in so disabled a condition, and so far from any land, that I am of opinion the first storm she met with afterwards she might founder in the sea; for she was leaky, and had damage in her hold when we met with her.

I was now in the latitude of 19 degrees 32 minutes, and had hitherto had a tolerable voyage as to weather, though at first the winds had been contrary. I shall trouble nobody with the little incidents of wind, weather, currents, &c., on the rest of our voyage; but shortening my story for the sake of what is to follow, shall observe that I came to my old habitation, the island, on the 10th of April 1695. It was with no small difficulty that I found the place; for as I came to it, and went from it before, on the south and east side of the island, as coming from the Brazils; so now, coming in between the main and the island, and having no chart for the coast, nor any landmark, I did not know it when I saw it, or know whether I saw it or no.

We beat about a great while, and went on shore on several islands in the mouth of the great river Oronooque, but none for my purpose; only this I learned by my coasting the shore, that I was under one great mistake before, viz., that the continent which I thought I saw from the island I lived in was really no continent, but a long island, or rather a ridge of islands, reaching from one to the other side of the extended mouth of that great river; and that the savages who came to my island were not properly those which we called Caribbees, but islanders, and other barbarians of the same kind, who inhabited something nearer to our side than the rest.

In short, I visited several of these islands to no

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purpose; some I found were inhabited, and some were not. On one of them I found some Spaniards, and thought they had lived there; but speaking with them, I found they had a sloop lay in a small creek hard by, and they came thither to make salt, and to catch some pearl-mussels, if they could; but that they belonged to the Isle de Trinidad, which lay farther north, in the latitude of 10 and 11 degrees.

But at last coasting from one island to another, sometimes with the ship, sometimes with the Frenchman's shallop, which we had found a convenient boat, and therefore kept her with their very good will, at length I came fair on the south side of my island, and I presently knew the very countenance of the place; so I brought the ship safe to an anchor broadside with the little creek where was my old habitation.

As soon as I saw the place I called for Friday, and asked him if he knew where he was? He looked about a little, and presently clapping his hands cried, "O yes, O there, O yes, O there!" pointing to our old habitation, and fell a-dancing and capering like a mad fellow; and I had much ado to keep him from jumping into the sea, to swim ashore to the place.

"Well, Friday," says I, "do you think we shall find anybody here, or no? And what do you think: shall we see your father?" The fellow stood mute as a stock a good while; but when I named his father, the poor affectionate creature looked dejected, and I could see the tears run down his face very plentifully. "What is the matter, Friday?" says I; "are you troubled because you may see your father?" "No, no," says he, shaking his head, "no see him more, no ever more see again." "Why so," said I, "Friday? how do you know that?"—"O no, O no," says Friday, "he long ago die; long ago, he much old man." "Well, well," said I, "Friday, you don't

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know; but shall we see any one else then?" The fellow, it seems, had better eyes than I, and he points just to the hill above my old house; and though we lay half a league off, he cries out, "We see! we see! yes, we see much men there, and there, and there." I looked, but I could see nobody, no, not with a perspective glass; which was, I suppose, because I could not hit the place; for the fellow was right, as I found upon inquiry the next day, and there was five or six men altogether stood to look at the ship, not knowing what to think of us.

As soon as Friday had told me he saw people, I caused the English ancient to be spread, and fired three guns, to give them notice we were friends; and in about half a quarter of an hour after, we perceived a smoke rise from the side of the creek. So I immediately ordered a boat out, taking Friday with me; and hanging out a white flag, or flag of truce, I went directly on shore, taking with me the young friar I mentioned, to whom I had told the whole story of my living there, and the manner of it, and every particular both of myself and those I left there, and who was on that account extremely desirous to go with me. We had besides about sixteen men very well armed, if we had found any new guests there which we did not know of; but we had no need of weapons.

As we went on shore upon the tide of flood near high-water, we rowed directly into the creek; and the first man I fixed my eyes upon was the Spaniard whose life I had saved, and whom I knew by his face perfectly well; as to his habit, I shall describe it afterwards. I ordered nobody to go on shore at first but myself; but there was no keeping Friday in the boat; for the affectionate creature had spied his father at a distance, a good way off of the Spaniards, where indeed I saw nothing of him; and if they had

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not let him go on shore, he would have jumped into the sea. He was no sooner on shore, but he flew away to his father like an arrow out of a bow. It would have made any man have shed tears, in spite of the firmest resolution, to have seen the first transports of this poor fellow's joy when he came to his father; how he embraced him, kissed him, stroked his face, took him up in his arms, set him down upon a tree, and lay down by him; then stood and looked at him as any one would look at a strange picture, for a quarter of an hour together; then lie down on the ground, and stroke his legs, and kiss them, and then get up again, and stare at him; one would have thought the fellow bewitched; but it would have made a dog laugh to see how the next day his passion run out another way. In the morning he walked along the shore, to and again, with his father, several hours, always leading him by the hand as if he had been a lady; and every now and then he would come to fetch something or other for him to the boat, either a lump of sugar, or a dram, a biscuit-cake, or something or other that was good. In the afternoon his frolics ran another way; for then he would set the old man down upon the ground, and dance about him, and make a thousand antic postures and gestures; and all the while he did this he would be talking to him, and telling him one story or another of his travels, and of what had happened to him abroad, to divert him. In short, if the same filial affection was to be found in Christians to their parents in our part of the world, one would be tempted to say there would hardly have been any need of the fifth commandment.

But this is a digression; I return to my landing. It would be endless to take notice of all the ceremonies and civilities that the Spaniards received me with. The first Spaniard, whom, as I said, I knew

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very well, was he whose life I had saved. He came towards the boat, attended by one more, carrying a flag of truce also; and he did not only not know me at first, but he had no thoughts, no notion, of its being me that was come till I spoke to him. "Seignior," said I, in Portuguese, "do you not know me?" At which he spoke not a word; but giving his musket to the man that was with him, threw his arms abroad, and saying something in Spanish that I did not perfectly hear, comes forward, and embraced me, telling me he was inexcusable not to know that face again that he had once seen, as of an angel from heaven sent to save his life. He said abundance of very handsome things, as a well-bred Spaniard always knows how; and then beckoning to the person that attended him, bade him go and call out his comrades. He then asked me if I would walk to my old habitation, where he would give me possession of my own house again, and where I should see there had been but mean improvements; so I walked along with him. But alas! I could no more find the place again than if I had never been there; for they had planted so many trees, and placed them in such a posture, so thick and close to one another, and in ten years' time they were grown so big, that, in short, the place was inaccessible, except by such windings and blind ways as they themselves only who made them could find.

I asked them what put them upon all these fortifications? He told me I would say there was need enough of it when they had given me an account how they had passed their time since their arriving in the island, especially after they had the misfortune to find that I was gone. He told me he could not but have some satisfaction in my good fortune when he heard that I was gone away in a good ship, and to my satisfaction; and that he had oftentimes a strong persuasion that one time or other he should see me again;

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but nothing that ever befell him in his life, he said, was so surprising and afflicting to him at first, as the disappointment he was under when he came back to the island, and found I was not there.

As to the three barbarians (so he called them) that were left behind, and of whom he said he had a long story to tell me, the Spaniards all thought themselves much better among the savages, only that their number was so small. "And," says he, "had they been strong enough, we had been all long ago in purgatory;" and with that he crossed himself on the breast. "But, sir," says he, "I hope you will not be displeased when I shall tell you how, forced by necessity, we were obliged, for our own preservation, to disarm them, and make them our subjects, who would not be content with being moderately our masters, but would be our murderers." I answered, I was heartily afraid of it when I left them there; and nothing troubled me at my parting from the island but that they were not come back, that I might have put them in possession of everything first, and left the other in a state of subjection, as they deserved; but if they had reduced them to it, I was very glad, and should be very far from finding any fault with it; for I knew they were a parcel of refractory, ungoverned villains, and were fit for any manner of mischief.

While I was saying this, came the man whom he had sent back, and with him eleven men more. In the distress they were in, it was impossible to guess what nation they were of; but he made all clear both to them and to me. First he turned to me, and pointing to them said, "These, sir, are some of the gentlemen who owe their lives to you;" and then turning to them, and pointing to me, he let them know who I was; upon which they all came up one by one, not as if they had been sailors, and ordinary fellows, and I the like, but really as if they

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had been ambassadors of noblemen, and I a monarch or a great conqueror. Their behaviour was to the last degree obliging and courteous, and yet mixed with a manly, majestic gravity, which very well became them; and, in short, they had so much more manners than I, that I scarce knew how to receive their civilities, much less how to return them in kind.

The history of their coming to, and conduct in, the island after my going away is so very remarkable, and has so many incidents which the former part of my relation will help to understand, and which will, in most of the particulars, refer to that account I have already given, that I cannot but commit them with great delight to the reading of those that come after me.

I shall no longer trouble the story with a relation in the first person, which will put me to the expense of ten thousand said I's, and said he's, and he told me's, and I told him's, and the like; but I shall collect the facts historically as near as I can gather them out of my memory from what they related to me, and from what I met with in my conversing with them, and with the place.

In order to do this succinctly, and as intelligibly as I can, I must go back to the circumstance in which I left the island, and in which the persons were of whom I am to speak. And first it is necessary to repeat, that I had sent away Friday's father and the Spaniard, the two whose lives I had rescued from the savages; I say, I had sent them away in a large canoe to the main, as I then thought it, to fetch over the Spaniard's companions whom he had left behind him, in order to save them from the like calamity that he had been in, and in order to succour them for the present, and that, if possible, we might together find some way for our deliverance afterward.

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When I sent them away, I had no visible appearance of, or the least room to hope for, my own deliverance, any more than I had twenty years before; much less had I any foreknowledge of what afterwards happened, I mean of an English ship coming on shore there to fetch me off; and it could not but be a very great surprise to them when they came back, not only to find that I was gone, but to find three strangers left on the spot, possessed of all that I had left behind me, which would otherwise have been their own.

The first thing, however, which I inquired into, that I might begin where I left off, was of their own part; and I desired he would give me a particular account of his voyage back to his countrymen with the boat, when I sent him to fetch them over. He told me there was little variety in that part; for nothing remarkable happened to them on the way, they having very calm weather and a smooth sea; for his countrymen it could not be doubted, he said, but that they were overjoyed to see him. (It seems he was the principal man among them, the captain of the vessel they had been shipwrecked in having been dead some time.) They were, he said, the more surprised to see him, because they knew that he was fallen into the hands of the savages, who, they were satisfied, would devour him, as they did all the rest of the prisoners; that when he told them the story of his deliverance, and in what manner he was furnished for carrying them away, it was like a dream to them; and their astonishment, they said, was something like that of Joseph's brethren, when he told them who he was, and told them the story of his exaltation in Pharaoh's court; but when he showed them the arms, the powder, the ball, and the provisions that he brought them for their journey or voyage, they were restored to themselves, took a

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just share of the joy of their deliverance, and immediately prepared to come away with him.

Their first business was to get canoes; and in this they were obliged not to stick so much upon the honest part of it, but to trespass upon their friendly savages, and to borrow two large canoes, or *periaguas*, on pretence of going out a-fishing, or for pleasure.

In these they came away the next morning. It seems they wanted no time to get themselves ready, for they had no baggage, neither clothes, or provisions, or anything in the world, but what they had on them, and a few roots to eat, of which they used to make their bread.

They were in all three weeks absent, and in that time, unluckily for them, I had the occasion offered for my escape, as I mentioned in my other part, and to get off from the island; leaving three of the most impudent, hardened, ungoverned, disagreeable villains behind me that any man could desire to meet with, to the poor Spaniards' great grief and disappointment, you may be sure.

The only just thing the rogues did was, that when the Spaniards came on shore they gave my letter to them, and gave them provisions and other relief, as I had ordered them to do; also they gave them the long paper of directions, which I had left with them, containing the particular methods which I took for managing every part of my life there; the way how I baked my bread, bred up tame goats, and planted my corn; how I cured my grapes, made my pots, and, in a word, everything I did. All this being written down, they gave to the Spaniards, two of whom understood English well enough; nor did they refuse to accommodate the Spaniards with everything else, for they agreed very well for some time. They gave them an equal admission into the house, or cave, and they began to live very sociably; and the

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head Spaniard, who had seen pretty much of my methods, and Friday's father together, managed all their affairs; for as for the Englishmen, they did nothing but ramble about the island, shoot parrots, and catch tortoises, and when they came home at night, the Spaniards provided their suppers for them.

The Spaniards would have been satisfied with this, would the other but have let them alone; which, however, they could not find in their hearts to do long; but like the dog in the manger, they would not eat themselves, and would not let others eat neither. The differences, nevertheless, were at first but trivial, and such as are not worth relating; but at last it broke out into open war, and it begun with all the rudeness and insolence that can be imagined, without reason, without provocation, contrary to nature, and indeed to common-sense; and though, it is true, the first relation of it came from the Spaniards themselves, whom I may call the accusers, yet when I came to examine the fellows, they could not deny a word of it.

But before I come to the particulars of this part, I must supply a defect in my former relation; and this was, that I forgot to set down among the rest, that just as we were weighing the anchor to set sail, there happened a little quarrel on board our ship, which I was afraid once would have turned to a second mutiny; nor was it appeased till the captain, rousing up his courage, and taking us all to his assistance, parted them by force, and making two of the most refractory fellows prisoners, he laid them in irons; and as they had been active in the former disorders, and let fall some dangerous ugly words the second time, he threatened to carry them in irons to England, and have them hanged there for mutiny, and running away with the ship.

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This, it seems, though the captain did not intend to do it, frighted some other men in the ship; and some of them had put it into the heads of the rest that the captain only gave them good words for the present till they should come to some English port, and that then they should be all put into gaol, and tried for their lives.

The mate got intelligence of this, and acquainted us with it; upon which it was desired that I, who still passed for a great man among them, should go down with the mate and satisfy the men, and tell them that they might be assured, if they behaved well the rest of the voyage, all they had done for the time past should be pardoned. So I went, and after passing my honour's word to them they appeared easy, and the more so when I caused the two men who were in irons to be released and forgiven.

But this mutiny had brought us to an anchor for that night, the wind also falling calm. Next morning we found that our two men who had been laid in irons had stole each of them a musket and some other weapons; what powder or shot they had, we know not; and had taken the ship's pinnace, which was not yet hauled up, and ran away with her to their companions in roguery on shore.

As soon as we found this, I ordered the longboat on shore, with twelve men and the mate, and away they went to seek the rogues; but they could neither find them nor any of the rest; for they all fled into the woods when they saw the boat coming on shore. The mate was once resolved, in justice to their roguery, to have destroyed their plantations, burnt all their household stuff and furniture, and left them to shift without it; but having no order, he let it all alone, left everything as they found it, and bringing the pinnace away, came on board without them.

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These two men made their number five; but the other three villains were so much wickeder than these, that after they had been two or three days together, they turned their two new-comers out of doors to shift for themselves, and would have nothing to do with them; nor could they, for a good while, be persuaded to give them any food. As for the Spaniards, they were not yet come.

When the Spaniards came first on shore, the business began to go forward. The Spaniards would have persuaded the three English brutes to have taken in their two countrymen again, that, as they said, they might be all one family; but they would not hear of it. So the two poor fellows lived by themselves; and finding nothing but industry and application would make them live comfortably, they pitched their tents on the north shore of the island, but a little more on the west, to be out of the danger of the savages, who always landed on the east parts of the island.

Here they built them two huts, one to lodge in, and the other to lay up their magazines and stores in; and the Spaniards having given them some corn for seed, and especially some of the peas which I had left them, they dug, and planted, and enclosed, after the pattern I had set for them all, and began to live pretty well. Their first crop of corn was on the ground; and though it was but a little bit of land which they had dug up at first, having had but a little time, yet it was enough to relieve them, and find them with bread and other eatables; and one of the fellows being the cook's mate of the ship, was very ready at making soup, puddings, and other such preparations as the rice and the milk, and such little flesh as they got, furnished him to do.

They were going on in this little thriving posture, when the three unnatural rogues, their own country-

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men too, in mere humour, and to insult them, came and bullied them, and told them the island was theirs; that the governor, meaning me, had given them possession of it, and nobody else had any right to it; and damn 'em, they should build no houses upon their ground, unless they would pay them rent for them.

The two men thought they had jested at first, asked them to come in and sit down, and see what fine houses they were that they had built, and tell them what rent they demanded; and one of them merrily told them if they were ground-landlords, he hoped if they built tenements upon their land and made improvements, they would, according to the custom of landlords, grant them a long lease; and bid them go fetch a scrivener to draw the writings. One of the three, damning and raging, told them they should see they were not in jest; and going to a little place at a distance, where the honest men had made a fire to dress their victuals, he takes a firebrand, and claps it to the outside of their hut, and very fairly set it on fire; and it would have been all burnt down in a few minutes, if one of the two had not run to the fellow, thrust him away, and trod the fire out with his feet, and that not without some difficulty too.

The fellow was in such a rage at the honest man's thrusting him away, that he returned upon him with a pole he had in his hand; and had not the man avoided the blow very nimbly, and run into the hut, he had ended his days at once. His comrade, seeing the danger they were both in, ran in after him, and immediately they came both out with their muskets; and the man that was first struck at with the pole knocked the fellow down that had begun the quarrel with the stock of his musket, and that before the other two could come to help him; and

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then seeing the rest come at them, they stood together, and presenting the other ends of their pieces to them, bade them stand off.

The other had firearms with them too; but one of the two honest men, bolder than his comrade, and made desperate by his danger, told them if they offered to move hand or foot they were dead men, and boldly commanded them to lay down their arms. They did not indeed lay down their arms; but seeing him so resolute, it brought them to a parley, and they consented to take their wounded man with them, and be gone; and, indeed, it seems the fellow was wounded sufficiently with the blow. However, they were much in the wrong, since they had the advantage, that they did not disarm them effectually, as they might have done, and have gone immediately to the Spaniards, and given them an account how the rogues had treated them; for the three villains studied nothing but revenge, and every day gave them some intimation that they did so.

But not to crowd this part with an account of the lesser part of their rogueries, such as treading down their corn, shooting three young kids and a she-goat, which the poor men had got to breed up tame for their store, and in a word, plaguing them night and day in this manner, it forced the two men to such a desperation, that they resolved to fight them all three the first time they had a fair opportunity. In order to this they resolved to go to the castle, as they called it, that was my old dwelling, where the three rogues and the Spaniards all lived together at that time, intending to have a fair battle, and the Spaniards should stand by to see fair play. So they got up in the morning before day, and came to the place, and called the Englishmen by their names, telling a Spaniard that answered that they wanted to speak with them.

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It happened that the day before two of the Spaniards having been in the woods had seen one of the two Englishmen, whom for distinction I call the honest men, and he had made a sad complaint to the Spaniards of the barbarous usage they had met with from their three countrymen, and how they had ruined their plantation, and destroyed their corn, that they had laboured so hard to bring forward, and killed the milch-goat and their three kids, which was all they had provided for their sustenance; and that if he and his friends, meaning the Spaniards, did not assist them again, they should be starved. When the Spaniards came home at night, and they were all at supper, he took the freedom to reprove the three Englishmen, though in very gentle and mannerly terms, and asked them how they could be so cruel, they being harmless, inoffensive fellows, and that they were only putting themselves in a way to subsist by their labour, and that it had cost them a great deal of pains to bring things to such perfection as they had.

One of the Englishmen returned very briskly, What had they to do there? that they came on shore without leave, and they should not plant or build upon the island; it was none of their ground. "Why," says the Spaniard, very calmly, "Seignior Inglese, they must not starve." The Englishman replied, like a true rough-hewn tarpaulin, "They might starve and be damned, they should not plant nor build." "But what must they do then, seignior?" said the Spaniard. Another of the brutes returned, "Do! d—n 'em, they should be servants, and work for them." "But how can you expect that of them?" says the Spaniard; "they are not bought with your money; you have no right to make them servants." The Englishman answered, the island was theirs, the governor had given it to

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them, and no man had anything to do there but themselves; and with that swore by his Maker that they would go and burn all their new huts, they should build none upon their land.

"Why, seignior," says the Spaniard, "by the same rule, we must be your servants too." "Ah," says the bold dog, "and so you shall too, before we have done with you;" mixing two or three G—d damme's in the proper intervals of his speech. The Spaniard only smiled at that, and made him no answer. However, this little discourse had heated them; and starting up, one says to the other, I think it was he they called Will Atkins, "Come, Jack, let us go and have t'other brush with them; we'll demolish their castle, I'll warrant you; they shall plant no colony in our dominions."

Upon this they went all trooping away, with every man a gun, a pistol, and a sword, and muttered some insolent things among themselves of what they would do to the Spaniards too when opportunity offered. But the Spaniards, it seems, did not so perfectly understand them as to know all the particulars; only that, in general, they threatened them hard for taking the two Englishmen's part.

Whither they went, or how they bestowed their time that evening, the Spaniards said they did not know; but it seems they wandered about the country part of the night; and then lying down in the place which I used to call my bower, they were weary, and overslept themselves. The case was this: they had resolved to stay till midnight, and so to take the two poor men when they were asleep; and as they acknowledged afterwards, intended to set fire to their huts while they were in them and either burn them in them, or murder them, as they came out; and as malice seldom sleeps very sound, it was very strange they should not have been kept waking.

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However, as the two men had also a design upon them, as I have said, though a much fairer one than that of burning and murdering, it happened, and very luckily for them all, that they were up and gone abroad, before the bloody-minded rogues came to their huts.

When they came there and found the men gone, Atkins, who it seems was the forwardest man, called out to his comrades, "Ha! Jack, here's the nest, but d—n 'em, the birds are flown." They mused awhile to think what should be the occasion of their being gone abroad so soon, and suggested presently that the Spaniards had given them notice of it; and with that they shook hands, and swore to one another that they would be revenged of the Spaniards. As soon as they had made this bloody bargain, they fell to work with the poor men's habitation. They did not set fire indeed to anything, but they pulled down both their little houses, and pulled them so limb from limb, that they left not the least stick standing, or scarce any sign on the ground where they stood; they tore all their little collected household stuff in pieces, and threw everything about in such a manner, that the poor men afterwards found some of their things a mile off of their habitation.

When they had done this, they pulled up all the young trees the poor men had planted; pulled up an enclosure they had made to secure their cattle and their corn; and in a word, sacked and plundered everything as completely as a horde of Tartars would have done.

The two men were at this juncture gone to find them out, and had resolved to fight them wherever they had been, though they were but two to three; so that, had they met, there certainly would have been bloodshed among them; for they were all very stout, resolute fellows, to give them their due.

But Providence took more care to keep them

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asunder than they themselves could do to meet; for as if they had dogged one another, when the three were gone thither, the two were here; and afterwards, when the two went back to find them, the three were come to the old habitation again; we shall see their differing conduct presently. When the three came back, like furious creatures, flushed with the rage which the work they had been about had put them into, they came up to the Spaniards, and told them what they had done, by way of scoff and bravado; and one of them stepping up to one of the Spaniards, as if they had been a couple of boys at play, takes hold of his hat, as it was upon his head, and giving it a twirl about, sneering in his face, says he to him, "And you, Seignior Jack Spaniard, shall have the same sauce if you do not mend your manners." The Spaniard, who though a quiet, civil man, was as brave as a man could be desired to be, and withal a strong, well-made man, looked steadily at him for a good while, and then, having no weapon in his hand, stepped gravely up to him, and with one blow of his fist knocked him down, as an ox is felled with a pole-axe; at which one of the rogues, insolent as the first, fired his pistol at the Spaniard immediately. He missed his body indeed, for the bullets went through his hair, but one of them touched the tip of his ear, and he bled pretty much. The blood made the Spaniard believe he was more hurt than he really was, and that put him into some heat, for before he acted all in a perfect calm; but now resolving to go through with his work, he stooped to take the fellow's musket whom he had knocked down, and was just going to shoot the man who had fired at him, when the rest of the Spaniards, being in the cave, came out, and calling to him not to shoot, they stepped in, secured the other two, and took their arms from them.

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When they were thus disarmed, and found they had made all the Spaniards their enemies, as well as their own countrymen, they began to cool; and giving the Spaniards better words, would have had their arms again. But the Spaniards, considering the feud that was between them and the other two Englishmen, and that it would be the best method they could take to keep them from killing one another, told them they would do them no harm; and if they would live peaceably, they would be very willing to assist and associate with them, as they did before; but that they could not think of giving them their arms again while they appeared so resolved to do mischief with them to their own countrymen, and had even threatened them all to make them their servants.

The rogues were now no more capable to hear reason than to act reason; and being refused their arms, they went raving away, and raging like madmen, threatening what they would do, though they had no firearms. But the Spaniards, despising their threatening, told them they should take care how they offered any injury to their plantation or cattle; for if they did, they would shoot them as they would do ravenous beasts, wherever they found them; and if they fell into their hands alive, they should certainly be hanged. However, this was far from cooling them; but away they went, raging and swearing like furies of hell. As soon as they were gone, came back the two men in passion and rage enough also, though of another kind; for having been at their plantation, and finding it all demolished and destroyed, as above, it will easily be supposed they had provocation enough. They could scarce have room to tell their tale, the Spaniards were so eager to tell them theirs; and it was strange enough to find three men thus bully nineteen, and receive no punishment at all.

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The Spaniards indeed despised them, and especially having thus disarmed them made light of all their threatenings; but the two Englishmen resolved to have their remedy against them, what pain soever it cost to find them out.

But the Spaniards interposed here too, and told them that as they had disarmed them, they could not consent that they (the two) should pursue them with firearms, and perhaps kill them. "But," said the grave Spaniard, who was their governor, "we will endeavour to make them do you justice, if you will leave it to us; for as there is no doubt but they will come to us again when their passion is over, being not able to subsist without our assistance, we promise you to make no peace with them without having a full satisfaction for you; upon this condition we hope you will promise to use no violence with them, other than in your own defence."

The two Englishmen yielded to this very awkwardly, and with great reluctance; but the Spanish protested they did it only to keep them from bloodshed, and to make all easy at last. "For," said they, "we are not so many of us; here is room enough for us all, and it is great pity we should not be all good friends." At length they did consent, and waited for the issue of the thing, living for some days with the Spaniards, for their own habitation was destroyed.

In about five days' time the three vagrants, tired with wandering, and almost starved with hunger, having chiefly lived on turtles' eggs all that while, came back to the grove, and finding my Spaniard, who, as I have said, was the governor, and two more with him, walking by the side of the creek, they came up in a very submissive, humble manner, and begged to be received again into the family. The Spaniards used them civilly, but told them they had acted so unnaturally by their countrymen, and

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so very grossly by them (the Spaniards), that they could not come to any conclusion without consulting the two Englishmen and the rest; but, however, they would go to them, and discourse about it, and they should know in half-an-hour. It may be guessed that they were very hard put to it, for it seems, as they were to wait this half-hour for an answer, they begged he would send them out some bread in the meantime; which he did, and sent them at the same time a large piece of goat's flesh and a broiled parrot, which they eat very heartily, for they were hungry enough.

After half-an-hour's consultation they were called in, and a long debate had among them, their two countrymen charging them with the ruin of all their labour, and a design to murder them; all which they owned before, and therefore could not deny now. Upon the whole, the Spaniard acted the moderator between them; and as they had obliged the two Englishmen not to hurt the three while they were naked and unarmed, so they now obliged the three to go and build their fellows' two huts, one of the same, and the other of larger dimensions than they were before; to fence their ground again, where they had pulled up the fences, plant trees in the room of those pulled up, dig up the land again for planting corn, where they had spoiled it; and, in a word, to restore everything in the same state they found it, as near as they could; for entirely it could not be, the season for the corn, and the growth of the trees and hedges, not being possible to be recovered.

Well, they submitted to all this, and as they had plenty of provisions given them all the while, they grew very orderly, and the whole society began to live pleasantly and agreeably together; only that these three fellows could never be persuaded to work, I mean for themselves, except now and then a little,

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just as they pleased. However, the Spaniards told them plainly that if they would but live sociably and friendly together, and study in the whole the good of the plantation, they would be content to work for them, and let them walk about and be as idle as they pleased; and thus having lived pretty well together for a month or two, the Spaniards gave them arms again, and gave them liberty to go abroad with them as before.

It was not above a week after they had these arms, and went abroad, but the ungrateful creatures began to be insolent and troublesome as before; but, however, an accident happening presently upon this, which endangered the safety of them all, they were obliged to lay by all private resentments, and look to the preservation of their lives.

It happened one night that the Spaniard governor, as I call him, that is to say, the Spaniard whose life I had saved, who was now the captain, or leader, or governor of the rest, found himself very uneasy in the night, and could by no means get any sleep. He was perfectly well in body, as he told me the story, only found his thoughts tumultuous; his mind ran upon men fighting, and killing of one another, but was broad awake, and could not by any means get any sleep. In short, he lay a great while; but growing more and more uneasy, he resolved to rise. As they lay, being so many of them, upon goat's-skins, laid thick upon such couches and pads as they made for themselves, not in hammocks and ship-beds, as I did, who was but one; so they had little to do, when they were willing to rise, but to get up upon their feet, and perhaps put on a coat, such as it was, and their pumps, and they were ready for going any way that their thoughts guided them.

Being thus gotten up, he looked out; but being

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dark, he could see little or nothing; and besides, the trees which I had planted, as in my former account is described, and which were now grown tall, intercepted his sight, so that he could only look up, and see that it was a clear starlight night; and hearing no noise, he returned and laid him down again; but it was all one, he could not sleep, nor could he compose himself to anything like rest, but his thoughts were to the last degree uneasy, and yet he knew not for what.

Having made some noise with rising and walking about, going out and coming in, another of them waked, and calling, asked who it was that was up. The governor told him how it had been with him. "Say you so?" says the other Spaniard; "such things are not to be slighted, I assure you; there is certainly some mischief working," says he, "near us;" and presently he asked him, "Where are the Englishmen?" "They are all in their huts," says he, "safe enough." It seems the Spaniards had kept possession of the main apartment, and had made a place where the three Englishmen, since their last mutiny, always quartered by themselves, and could not come at the rest. "Well," says the Spaniard, "there is something in it, I am persuaded from my own experience. I am satisfied our spirits embodied have a converse with, and receive intelligence from, the spirits unembodied, and inhabiting the invisible world; and this friendly notice is given for our advantage, if we know how to make use of it. Come," says he, "let us go out and look abroad; and if we find nothing at all in it to justify the trouble, I will tell you a story to the purpose, that shall convince you of the justice of my proposing it."

In a word, they went out to go up to the top of the hill, where I used to go; but they, being strong, and in good company, not alone, as I was, used none

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of my cautions to go up by the ladder, and then pulling it up after them to go up a second stage to the top, but were going round through the grove, unconcerned and unwary, when they were surprised with seeing a light, as of fire, a very little way off from them, and hearing the voices of men, not of one or two, but of a great number.

In all the discoveries I had made of the savages landing on the island, it was my constant care to prevent them making the least discovery of there being any inhabitant upon the place; and when by any occasion they came to know it, they felt it so effectually, that they that got away were scarce able to give any account of it, for we disappeared as soon as possible, nor did ever any that had seen me escape to tell any one else, except it were the three savages in our last encounter, who jumped into the boat, of whom I mentioned that I was afraid they should go home and bring more help.

Whether it was the consequence of the escape of those men that so great a number came now together, or whether they came ignorantly, and by accident, on their usual bloody errand, they could not, it seems, understand; but whatever it was, it had been their business, either to have concealed themselves, as not to have seen them at all, much less to have let the savages have seen that there were any inhabitants in the place; or to have fallen upon them so effectually, as that not a man of them should have escaped, which could only have been by getting in between them and their boats. But this presence of mind was wanting to them, which was the ruin of their tranquillity for a great while.

We need not doubt but that the governor and the man with him, surprised with this sight, ran back immediately, and raised their fellows, giving them an account of the imminent danger they were all in, and

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they again as readily took the alarm ; but it was impossible to persuade them to stay close within where they were, but that they must run all out to see how things stood.

While it was dark, indeed, they were well enough, and they had opportunity enough, for some hours, to view them by the light of three fires they had made at a distance from one another. What they were doing they knew not, and what to do themselves they knew not ; for, first, the enemy were too many ; and, secondly, they did not keep together, but were divided into several parties, and were on shore in several places.

The Spaniards were in no small consternation at this sight ; and as they found that the fellows ran straggling all over the shore, they made no doubt but, first or last, some of them would chop in upon their habitation, or upon some other place, where they would see the token of inhabitants ; and they were in great perplexity also for fear of their flock of goats, which would have been little less than starving them if they should have been destroyed ; so the first thing they resolved upon, was to despatch three men away before it was light, viz., two Spaniards and one Englishman, to drive all the goats away to the great valley where the cave was, and if need were to drive them into the very cave itself.

Could they have seen the savages all together in one body, and at any distance from their canoes, they resolved, if they had been an hundred of them, to have attacked them ; but that could not be obtained, for they were some of them two miles off from the other, and, as it appeared afterwards, were of two different nations.

After having mused a great while on the course they should take, and beaten their brains in considering their present circumstances, they resolved at

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last, while it was dark, to send the old savage, Friday's father, out as a spy, to learn if possible something concerning them, what they came for, and what they intended to do. The old man readily undertook it, and stripping himself quite naked, as most of the savages were, away he went. After he had been gone an hour or two, he brings word that he had been among them undiscovered, that he found they were two parties, and of two several nations, who had war with one another, and had had a great battle in their own country, and that both sides having had several prisoners taken in the fight, they were by mere chance landed all in the same island for the devouring their prisoners, and making merry, but their coming so by chance to the same place had spoiled all their mirth; that they were in a great rage at one another, and that they were so near, that he believed they would fight again as soon as daylight began to appear; but he did not perceive that they had any notion of anybody's being on the island but themselves. He had hardly made an end of telling his story, when they could perceive, by the unusual noise they made, that the two little armies were engaged in a bloody fight.

Friday's father used all the arguments he could to persuade our people to lie close, and not be seen. He told them their safety consisted in it, and that they had nothing to do but lie still, and the savages would kill one another to their hands, and then the rest would go away; and it was so to a tittle. But it was impossible to prevail, especially upon the Englishmen, their curiosity was so importunate upon their prudentials, that they must run out and see the battle. However, they used some caution too, viz., they did not go openly just by their own dwelling, but went farther into the woods, and placed themselves to advantage, where they might securely

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see them manage the fight, and, as they thought, not to be seen by them; but it seems the savages did see them, as we shall find hereafter.

The battle was very fierce, and if I might believe the Englishmen, one of them said he could perceive that some of them were men of great bravery, of invincible spirit, and of great policy in guiding the fight. The battle, they said, held two hours before they could guess which party would be beaten; but then that party which was nearest our people's habitation began to appear weakest, and after some time more, some of them began to fly; and this put our men again into a great consternation, lest any of those that fled should run into the grove before their dwelling for shelter, and thereby involuntarily discover the place, and that by consequence the pursuers should do the like in search for them. Upon this they resolved that they would stand armed within the wall, and whoever came into the grove they should sally out over the wall and kill them, so that if possible not one should return to give an account of it. They ordered, also, that it should be done with their swords, or by knocking them down with the stock of the musket, but not by shooting them, for fear of the noise.

As they expected, it fell out. Three of the routed army fled for life, and crossing the creek ran directly into the place, not in the least knowing whither they went, but running as into a thick wood for shelter. The scout they kept to look abroad gave notice of this within, with this addition, to our men's great satisfaction, viz., that the conquerors had not pursued them, or seen which way they were gone. Upon this the Spaniard governor, a man of humanity, would not suffer them to kill the three fugitives; but sending three men out by the top of the hill, ordered them to go round and come in

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behind them, surprise, and take them prisoners, which was done. The residue of the conquered people fled to their canoes, and got off to sea; the victors retired, and made no pursuit, or very little, but drawing themselves into a body together gave two great screaming shouts, which they supposed was by way of triumph, and so the fight ended; and the same day, about three o'clock in the afternoon, they also marched to their canoes. And thus the Spaniards had their island again free to themselves, their fright was over, and they saw no savages in several years after.

After they were all gone, the Spaniards came out of their den, and viewing the field of battle, they found about two and thirty dead men upon the spot. Some were killed with great long arrows, some of which were found sticking in their bodies; but most of them were killed with their great wooden swords, sixteen or seventeen of which they found in the field of battle, and as many bows, with a great many arrows. These swords were strange great unwieldy things, and they must be very strong men that used them. Most of those men that were killed with them had their heads mashed to pieces, as we may say, or, as we call it in English, their brains knocked out, and several their arms and legs broken; so that 't is evident they fight with inexpressible rage and fury. We found not one wounded man that was not stone dead; for either they stay by their enemy till they have quite killed him, or they carry all the wounded men, that are not quite dead, away with them.

This deliverance tamed our Englishmen for a great while. The sight had filled them with horror, and the consequences appeared terrible to the last degree, even to them, if ever they should fall into the hands of those creatures, who would not only

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kill them as enemies, but kill them for food, as we kill our cattle. And they professed to me that the thoughts of being eaten up like beef or mutton, though it was supposed it was not to be till they were dead, had something in it so horrible, that it nauseated their very stomachs, made them sick when they thought of it, and filled their minds with such unusual terror, that they were not themselves for some weeks after.

This, as I said, tamed even the three English brutes I have been speaking of, and for a great while after they were very tractable, and went about the common business of their whole society well enough; planted, sowed, reaped, and began to be all naturalised to the country. But some time after this they fell all into such measures as brought them into a great deal of trouble.

They had taken three prisoners, as I had observed; and these three being lusty stout young fellows, they made them servants, and taught them to work for them, and as slaves they did well enough; but they did not take their measures with them as I did by my man Friday, viz., to begin with them upon the principle of having saved their lives, and then instruct them in the rational principles of life, much less of religion, civilising and reducing them by kind usage and affectionate arguings; but as they gave them their food every day, so they gave them their work too, and kept them fully employed in drudgery enough; but they failed in this by it, that they never had them to assist them and fight for them as I had my man Friday, who was as true to me as the very flesh upon my bones.

But to come to the family part. Being all now good friends — for common danger, as I said above, had effectually reconciled them — they began to consider their general circumstances; and the first

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thing that came under their consideration was, whether, seeing the savages particularly haunted that side of the island, and that there were more remote and retired parts of it equally adapted to their way of living, and manifestly to their advantage, they should not rather remove their habitation, and plant in some more proper place for their safety, and especially for the security of their cattle and corn.

Upon this, after long debate, it was concluded that they would not remove their habitation, because that, some time or other, they thought they might hear from their governor again, meaning me; and if I should send any one to seek them, I should be sure to direct them to that side, where, if they should find the place demolished, they would conclude the savages had killed us all, and we were gone, and so our supply would go too.

But as to their corn and cattle, they agreed to remove them into the valley where my cave was, where the land was as proper for both, and where indeed there was land enough. However, upon second thoughts they altered one part of that resolution too, and resolved only to remove part of their cattle thither, and plant part of their corn there; and so, if one part was destroyed, the other might be saved. And one part of prudence they used, which it was very well they did, viz., that they never trusted those three savages, which they had prisoners, with knowing anything of the plantation they had made in that valley, or of any cattle they had there; much less of the cave there, which they kept in case of necessity as a safe retreat, and whither they carried also the two barrels of powder which I had sent them at my coming away.

But, however, they resolved not to change their habitation; yet they agreed that as I had carefully

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covered it first with a wall, or fortification, and then with a grove of trees, so seeing their safety consisted entirely in their being concealed, of which they were now fully convinced, they set to work to cover and conceal the place yet more effectually than before. To this purpose, as I had planted trees (or rather thrust in stakes which in time all grew up to be trees) for some good distance before the entrance into my apartment, they went on in the same manner, and filled up the rest of that whole space of ground, from the trees I had set quite down to the side of the creek, where, as I said, I landed my floats, and even in the very ooze where the tide flowed, not so much as leaving any place to land, or any sign that there had been any landing thereabout. These stakes also being of a wood very forward to grow, as I have noted formerly, they took care to have generally very much larger and taller than those which I had planted; and as they grew apace, so they planted them so very thick and close together, that when they had been three or four years grown, there was no piercing with the eye any considerable way into the plantation. And as for that part which I had planted, the trees were grown as thick as a man's thigh; and among them they placed so many other short ones, and so thick, that, in a word, it stood like a palisado a quarter of a mile thick, and it was next to impossible to penetrate it but with a little army to cut it all down; for a little dog could hardly get between the trees, they stood so close.

But this was not all; for they did the same by all the ground to the right hand, and to the left, and round even to the top of the hill, leaving no way, not so much as for themselves to come out but by the ladder placed up to the side of the hill, and then lifted up and placed again from the first stage up to the top; which ladder, when it was taken down,

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nothing but what had wings or witchcraft to assist it could come at them.

This was excellently well contrived, nor was it less than what they afterwards found occasion for; which served to convince me, that as human prudence has the authority of Providence to justify it, so it has, doubtless, the direction of Providence to set it to work; and would we listen carefully to the voice of it, I am fully persuaded we might prevent many of the disasters which our lives are now, by our own negligence, subjected to. But this by the way.

I return to the story. They lived two years after this in perfect retirement, and had no more visits from the savages. They had indeed an alarm given them one morning, which put them into a great consternation; for some of the Spaniards being out early one morning on the west side, or rather the end of the island, which, by the way, was that end where I never went, for fear of being discovered, they were surprised with seeing above twenty canoes of Indians just coming on shore. They made the best of their way home in hurry enough, and giving the alarm to their comrades, they kept close all that day and the next, going out only at night to make observation. But they had the good luck to be mistaken, for wherever the savages went, they did not land at that time in the island, but pursued some other design.

And now they had another broil with the three Englishmen, one of which, a most turbulent fellow, being in a rage at one of the three slaves, which I had mentioned they had taken, because the fellow had not done something right which he bid him do, and seemed a little untractable in his showing him, drew a hatchet out of a frog-belt, in which he wore it by his side, and fell upon the poor savage, not to correct him, but to kill him. One of the Spaniards

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who was by, seeing him give the fellow a barbarous cut with the hatchet, which he aimed at his head, but struck into his shoulder so that he thought he had cut the poor creature's arm off, ran to him, and entreating him not to murder the poor man, clapped in between him and the savage to prevent the mischief.

The fellow being enraged the more at this, struck at the Spaniard with his hatchet, and swore he would serve him as he intended to serve the savage; which the Spaniard perceiving, avoided the blow, and with a shovel which he had in his hand (for they were all working in the field about their corn-land) knocked the brute down. Another of the Englishmen running at the same time to help his comrade, knocked the Spaniard down; and then two Spaniards more came in to help their man, and a third Englishman fell in upon them. They had none of them any firearms, or any other weapon but hatchets and other tools, except this third Englishman; he had one of my old rusty cutlasses, with which he made at the two last Spaniards, and wounded them both. This fray set the whole family in an uproar, and more help coming in, they took the three Englishmen prisoners. The next question was, what should be done with them? They had been so often mutinous, and were so furious, so desperate, and so idle withal, that they knew not what course to take with them, for they were mischievous to the highest degree, and valued not what hurt they did to any man; so that, in short, it was not safe to live with them.

The Spaniard who was governor told them, in so many words, that if they had been of his own country he would have hanged them; for all laws and all governors were to preserve society, and those who were dangerous to the society ought to be expelled

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out of it; but as they were Englishmen, and that it was to the generous kindness of an Englishman that they all owed their preservation and deliverance, he would use them with all possible lenity, and would leave them to the judgment of the other two Englishmen, who were their countrymen.

One of the two honest Englishmen stood up and said, they desired it might not be left to them, "For," says he, "I am sure we ought to sentence them to the gallows;" and with that he gives an account how Will Atkins, one of the three, had proposed to have all the five Englishmen join together, and murder all the Spaniards when they were in their sleep.

When the Spanish governor heard this he calls to William Atkins, "How, Seignior Atkins," says he, "would you murder us all? What have you to say to that?" That hardened villain was so far from denying it, that he said it was true, and G—d d—m him if they would not do it still before they had done with them. "Well but, Seignior Atkins," says the Spaniard, "what have we done to you that you would kill us? And what would you get by killing us? And what must we do to prevent you killing us? Must we kill you, or you will kill us? Why will you put us to the necessity of this, Seignior Atkins?" says the Spaniard very calmly, and smiling.

Seignior Atkins was in such a rage at the Spaniard's making a jest of it that had he not been held by three men, and withal had no weapons with him, it was thought he would have attempted to have killed the Spaniard in the middle of all the company.

This hair-brained carriage obliged them to consider seriously what was to be done. The two Englishmen and the Spaniard who saved the poor savage was of the opinion they should hang one of the three for an example to the rest; and that,

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particularly, it should be he that had twice attempted to commit murder with his hatchet; and indeed there was some reason to believe he had done it, for the poor savage was in such a miserable condition with the wound he had received, that it was thought he could not live.

But the governor Spaniard still said, No; it was an Englishman that had saved all their lives, and he would never consent to put an Englishman to death, though he had murdered half of them; nay, he said, if he had been killed himself by an Englishman, and had time left to speak, it should be that they would pardon him.

This was so positively insisted on by the governor Spaniard, that there was no gainsaying it; and as merciful counsels are most apt to prevail where they are so earnestly pressed, so they all came into it; but then it was to be considered what should be done to keep them from doing the mischief they designed; for all agreed, governor and all, that means were to be used for preserving the society from danger. After a long debate it was agreed, first, that they should be disarmed, and not permitted to have either gun, or powder, or shot, or sword, or any weapon, and should be turned out of the society, and left to live where they would, and how they would, by themselves; but that none of the rest, either Spaniards or English, should converse with them, speak with them, or have anything to do with them; that they should be forbid to come within a certain distance of the place where the rest dwelt; and that if they offered to commit any disorder, so as to spoil, burn, kill, or destroy any of the corn, plantings, buildings, fences, or cattle belonging to the society, they should die without mercy, and they would shoot them wherever they could find them.

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The governor, a man of great humanity, musing upon the sentence, considered a little upon it, and turning to the two honest Englishmen said, "Hold, you must reflect that it will be long ere they can raise corn and cattle of their own, and they must not starve; we must therefore allow them provisions." So he caused to be added, that they should have a proportion of corn given to them to last them eight months, and for seed to sow, by which time they might be supposed to raise some of their own; that they should have six milch-goats, four he-goats, and six kids given them, as well for present subsistence as for a store; and that they should have tools given them for their work in the fields; such as six hatchets, an axe, a saw, and the like; but they should have none of these tools or provisions unless they would swear solemnly that they would not hurt or injure any of the Spaniards with them, or of their fellow Englishmen.

Thus they dismissed them the society, and turned them out to shift for themselves. They went away sullen and refractory, as neither contented to go away or to stay; but as there was no remedy they went, pretending to go and choose a place where they would settle themselves, to plant and live by themselves; and some provisions were given them, but no weapons.

About four or five days after they came again for some victuals, and gave the governor an account where they had pitched their tents, and marked themselves out an habitation and plantation; and it was a very convenient place indeed, on the remotest part of the island, N.E., much about the place where I landed in my first voyage when I was driven out to sea, the Lord knows whither, in my attempt to surround the island.

Here they built themselves two handsome huts,

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and contrived them in a manner like my first habitation, being close under the side of a hill, having some trees growing already on three sides of it; so that by planting others it would be very easily covered from the sight, unless narrowly searched for. They desired some dried goat's-skins for beds and covering, which were given them; and upon giving their words that they would not disturb the rest, or injure any of their plantations, they gave them hatchets and what other tools they could spare, some peas, barley, and rice for sowing, and in a word, anything they wanted but arms and ammunition.

They lived in this separate condition about six months, and had gotten in their first harvest, though the quantity was but small, the parcel of land they had planted being but little; for indeed having all their plantation to form, they had a great deal of work upon their hands; and when they came to make boards, and pots, and such things, they were quite out of their element, and could make nothing of it; and when the rainy season came on, for want of a cave in the earth they could not keep their grain dry, and it was in great danger of spoiling. And this humbled them much; so they came and begged the Spaniards to help them, which they very readily did; and in four days worked a great hole in the side of the hill for them, big enough to secure their corn and other things from the rain. But it was but a poor place at best compared to mine, and especially as mine was then; for the Spaniards had greatly enlarged it, and made several new apartments in it.

About three quarters of a year after this separation a new frolic took these rogues, which, together with the former villainy they had committed, brought mischief enough upon them, and had very near been the ruin of the whole colony. The three new associates began, it seems, to be weary of the laborious

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life they led, and that without hope of bettering their circumstances; and a whim took them that they would make a voyage to the continent from whence the savages came, and would try if they could not seize upon some prisoners among the natives there, and bring them home, so to make them do the laborious part of their work for them.

The project was not so preposterous if they had gone no farther; but they did nothing, and proposed nothing, but had either mischief in the design, or mischief in the event; and if I may give my opinion, they seemed to be under a blast from Heaven; for if we will not allow a visible curse to pursue visible crimes, how shall we reconcile the events of things with the Divine justice? It was certainly an apparent vengeance on their crime of mutiny and piracy that brought them to the state they were in; and as they showed not the least remorse for the crime, but added new villainies to it, such as, particularly, the piece of monstrous cruelty of wounding a poor slave because he did not, or perhaps could not, understand to do what he was directed, and to wound him in such a manner as, no question, made him a cripple all his life, and in a place where no surgeon or medicine could be had for his cure; and what was still worse, the murderous intent, or to do justice to the crime, the intentional murder, for such to be sure it was, as was afterwards the formed design they all laid to murder the Spaniards in cold blood, and in their sleep.

But I leave observing, and return to the story. The three fellows came down to the Spaniards one morning, and in very humble terms desired to be admitted to speak with them. The Spaniards very readily heard what they had to say, which was this, that they were tired of living in the manner they did; that they were not handy enough to make the

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necessaries they wanted; and that, having no help, they found they should be starved; but if the Spaniards would give them leave to take one of the canoes which they came over in, and give them arms and ammunition proportioned for their defence, they would go over to the main, and seek their fortune, and so deliver them from the trouble of supplying them with any other provisions.

The Spaniards were glad enough to be rid of them; but yet very honestly represented to them the certain destruction they were running into; told them they had suffered such hardships upon that very spot, that they could, without any spirit of prophecy, tell them that they would be starved or be murdered, and bade them consider of it.

The men replied audaciously, they should be starved if they stayed here, for they could not work, and would not work, and they could but be starved abroad; and if they were murdered, there was an end of them, they had no wives or children to cry after them; and, in short, insisted importunately upon their demand declaring that they would go whether they would give them any arms or no.

The Spaniards told them with great kindness that if they were resolved to go, they should not go like naked men, and be in no condition to defend themselves, and that though they could ill spare their firearms, having not enough for themselves, yet they would let them have two muskets, a pistol, and a cutlass, and each man a hatchet, which they thought was sufficient for them.

In a word, they accepted the offer, and having baked them bread enough to serve them a month, and given them as much goat's flesh as they could eat while it was sweet, and a great basketful of dried grapes, a pot full of fresh water, and a young kid alive to kill, they boldly set out in a canoe for a

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voyage over the sea, where it was at least forty miles broad.

The boat was indeed a large one, and would have very well carried fifteen or twenty men, and therefore was rather too big for them to manage; but as they had a fair breeze and the flood tide with them, they did well enough. They had made a mast of a long pole, and a sail of four large goat's-skins dried, which they had sewed or laced together; and away they went merrily enough. The Spaniards called after them, *Bon veyajo;* and no man ever thought of seeing them any more.

The Spaniards would often say to one another, and to the two honest Englishmen who remained behind, how quietly and comfortably they lived now those three turbulent fellows were gone. As for their ever coming again, that was the remotest thing from their thoughts that could be imagined; when, behold, after two and twenty days' absence, one of the Englishmen being abroad upon his planting work, sees three strange men coming towards him at a distance, with guns upon their shoulders.

Away runs the Englishman as if he was bewitched, comes frighted and amazed to the governor Spaniard, and tells him they were all undone, for there were strangers landed upon the island, he could not tell who. The Spaniard, pausing a while, says he to him, "How do you mean, you cannot tell who? They are the savages, to be sure." "No, no," says the Englishman, "they are men in clothes, with arms." "Nay, then," says the Spaniard, "why are you concerned? If they are not savages, they must be friends; for there is no Christian nation upon earth but will do us good rather than harm."

While they were debating thus, comes the three Englishmen, and standing without the wood, which was new planted, hallooed to them. They presently

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knew their voices, and so all the wonder of that kind ceased. But now the admiration was turned upon another question, viz., what could be the matter, and what made them come back again?

It was not long before they brought the men in; and inquiring where they had been, and what they had been doing, they gave them a full account of their voyage in a few words, viz., that they reached the land in two days, or something less, but finding the people alarmed at their coming, and preparing with bows and arrows to fight them, they durst not go on shore, but sailed on to the northward six or seven hours, till they came to a great opening, by which they perceived that the land they saw from our island was not the main, but an island; that entering that opening of the sea, they saw another island on the right hand north, and several more west; and being resolved to land somewhere, they put over to one of the islands which lay west, and went boldly on shore; that they found the people very courteous and friendly to them, and that they gave them several roots, and some dried fish, and appeared very sociable; and the women, as well as the men, were very forward to supply them with anything they could get for them to eat, and brought it to them a great way upon their heads.

They continued here four days, and inquired, as well as they could of them by signs, what nations were this way, and that way; and were told of several fierce and terrible people, that lived almost every way; who, as they made signs to them, used to eat men; but as for themselves, they said that they never ate men or women, except only such as they took in the wars; and then they owned that they made a great feast, and ate their prisoners.

The Englishmen inquired when they had a feast of that kind, and they told him about two moons

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ago, pointing to the moon, and then to two fingers; and that their great king had two hundred prisoners now, which he had taken in his war, and they were feeding them to make them fat for the next feast. The Englishmen seemed mighty desirous to see those prisoners, but the other mistaking them, thought they were desirous to have some of them to carry away for their own eating. So they beckoned to them, pointing to the setting of the sun, and then to the rising; which was to signify, that the next morning at sun-rising they would bring some for them; and accordingly the next morning they brought down five women and eleven men, and gave them to the Englishmen to carry with them on their voyage, just as we would bring so many cows and oxen down to a seaport town to victual a ship.

As brutish and barbarous as these fellows were at home, their stomachs turned at this sight, and they did not know what to do. To refuse the prisoners would have been the highest affront to the savage gentry that offered them; and what to do with them they knew not. However, upon some debates, they resolved to accept of them; and in return they gave the savages that brought them one of their hatchets, an old key, a knife, and six or seven of their bullets, which though they did not understand, they seemed extremely pleased with; and then tying the poor creatures' hands behind them, they (the people) dragged the poor prisoners into the boat for our men.

The Englishmen were obliged to come away as soon as they had them, or else they that gave them this noble present would certainly have expected that they should have gone to work with them, have killed two or three of them the next morning, and perhaps have invited the donors to dinner.

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But having taken their leave with all the respects and thanks that could well pass between people where, on either side, they understood not one word they could say, they put off with their boat, and came back towards the first island, where when they arrived they set eight of their prisoners at liberty, there being too many of them for their occasion.

In their voyage they endeavoured to have some communication with their prisoners, but it was impossible to make them understand anything; nothing they could say to them, or give them, or do for them, but was looked upon as going about to murder them. They first of all unbound them, but the poor creatures screamed at that, especially the women, as if they had just felt the knife at their throats; for they immediately concluded they were unbound on purpose to be killed.

If they gave them anything to eat, it was the same thing; then they concluded it was for fear they should sink in flesh, and so not be fat enough to kill; if they looked at one of them more particularly, the party presently concluded it was to see whether he or she was fattest and fittest to kill; nay, after they had brought them quite over, and began to use them kindly, and treat them well, still they expected every day to make a dinner or supper for their new masters.

When the three wanderers had given this unaccountable history or journal of their voyage, the Spaniard asked them where their new family was? And being told that they had brought them on shore, and put them into one of their huts, and were come up to beg some victuals for them, they, the Spaniards and the other two Englishmen, that is to say, the whole colony, resolved to go all down to the place and see them, and did so, and Friday's father with them.

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When they came into the hut, there they sat all bound; for when they had brought them on shore they bound their hands, that they might not take the boat and make their escape. There, I say, they sat, all of them stark naked. First, there were three men, lusty, comely fellows, well shaped, straight and fair limbs, about thirty to thirty-five years of age, and five women, whereof two might be from thirty to forty, two more not above four or five and twenty, and the fifth, a tall, comely maiden, about sixteen or seventeen. The women were well favoured, agreeable persons, both in shape and features, only tawny; and two of them, had they been perfect white, would have passed for very handsome women, even in London itself, having pleasant, agreeable countenances, and of a very modest behaviour, especially when they came afterwards to be clothed, and dressed, as they called it, though the dress was very indifferent, it must be confessed; of which hereafter.

The sight, you may be sure, was something uncouth to our Spaniards, who were, to give them a just character, men of the best behaviour, of the most calm, sedate tempers, and perfect good-humour that ever I met with; and, in particular, of the most modesty, as will presently appear; I say, the sight was very uncouth to see three naked men and five naked women, all together bound, and in the most miserable circumstances that human nature could be supposed to be, viz., to be expecting every moment to be dragged out and have their brains knocked out, and then to be eaten up like a calf that is killed for a dainty.

The first thing they did was to cause the old Indian, Friday's father, to go in and see first if he knew any of them, and then if he understood any of their speech. As soon as the old man came in, he looked seriously at them, but knew none of them;

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neither could any of them understand a word he said, or a sign he could make, except one of the women.

However, this was enough to answer the end, which was to satisfy them that the men into whose hands they were fallen were Christians; that they abhorred eating of men or women, and that they might be sure they would not be killed. As soon as they were assured of this, they discovered such joy, and by such awkward and several ways as is hard to describe, for it seems they were of several nations.

The woman who was their interpreter was bid in the next place to ask them if they were willing to be servants, and to work for the men who had brought them away to save their lives? At which they all fell a-dancing; and presently one fell to taking up this, and another that, or anything that lay next, to carry on their shoulders, to intimate that they were willing to work.

The governor, who found that the having women among them would presently be attended with some inconvenience, and might occasion some strife, and perhaps blood, asked the three men what they intended to do with these women, and how they intended to use them, whether as servants or as women? One of the Englishmen answered very boldly and readily, that they would use them as both. To which the governor said, "I am not going to restrain you from it; you are your own masters as to that; but this I think is but just, for avoiding disorders and quarrels amongst you, and I desire it of you for that reason only, viz., that you will all engage, that if any of you take any of these women as a woman, or wife, that he shall take but one; and that having taken one, none else shall touch her; for though we cannot marry any of you, yet 't is but reasonable that while you stay here, the

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woman any of you takes should be maintained by the man that takes her, and should be his wife; I mean," says he, "while he continues here; and that none else shall have anything to do with her." All this appeared so just, that every one agreed to it without any difficulty.

Then the Englishmen asked the Spaniards if they designed to take any of them? But every one of them answered "No." Some of them said they had wives in Spain, and the others did not like women that were not Christians, and all together declared that they would not touch one of them; which was an instance of such virtue as I have not met with in all my travels. On the other hand, to be short, the five Englishmen took them every one a wife, that is to say, a temporary wife; and so they set up a new form of living; for the Spaniards and Friday's father lived in my old habitation, which they had enlarged exceedingly within. The three servants which were taken in the late battle of the savages, lived with them; and these carried on the main part of the colony, supplying all the rest with food, and assisting them in anything as they could, or as they found necessity required.

But the wonder of this story was, how five such refractory, ill-matched fellows should agree about these women, and that two of them should not pitch upon the same woman, especially seeing two or three of them were, without comparison, more agreeable than the other: but they took a good way enough to prevent quarrelling among themselves; for they set the five women by themselves in one of their huts, and they went all into the other hut, and drew lots among them who should choose first.

He that drew to choose first went away by himself to the hut where the poor naked creatures were, and fetched out her he chose; and it was worth ob-

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serving, that he that chose first took her that was reckoned the homeliest and the oldest of the five, which made mirth enough among the rest; and even the Spaniards laughed at it. But the fellow considered better than any of them, that it was application and business that they were to expect assistance in as much as anything else; and she proved the best wife of all the parcel.

When the poor women saw themselves set in a row thus, and fetched out one by one, the terrors of their condition returned upon them again, and they firmly believed that they were now a-going to be devoured. Accordingly, when the English sailor came in and fetched out one of them, the rest set up a most lamentable cry, and hung about her, and took their leave of her with such agonies and such affection as would have grieved the hardest heart in the world; nor was it possible for the Englishmen to satisfy them that they were not to be immediately murdered, till they fetched the old man, Friday's father, who immediately let them know that the five men who had fetched them out one by one had chosen them for their wives.

When they had done, and the fright the women were in was a little over, the men went to work, and the Spaniards came and helped them; and in a few hours they had built them every one a new hut or tent for their lodging apart; for those they had already were crowded with their tools, household stuff, and provision. The three wicked ones had pitched farthest off, and the two honest ones nearer, but both on the north shore of the island, so that they continued separate as before; and thus my island was peopled in three places, and, as I might say, three towns were begun to be planted.

And here 't is very well worth observing, that as it often happens in the world (what the wise ends of

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God's providence are in such a disposition of things I cannot say), the two honest fellows had the two worst wives; and the three reprobates, that were scarce worth hanging, that were fit for nothing, and neither seemed born to do themselves good, or any one else, had three clever, diligent, careful, and ingenious wives; not that the two first were ill wives as to their temper or humour, for all the five were most willing, quiet, passive, and subjective creatures, rather like slaves than wives; but my meaning is, they were not alike capable, ingenious, or industrious, or alike cleanly and neat.

Another observation I must make, to the honour of a diligent application on one hand, and to the disgrace of a slothful, negligent, idle temper on the other, that when I came to the place and viewed the several improvements, plantings, and management of the several little colonies, the two men had so far outgone the three, that there was no comparison. They had indeed both of them as much ground laid out for corn as they wanted; and the reason was, because, according to my rule, Nature dictated that it was to no purpose to sow more corn than they wanted; but the difference of the cultivation, of the planting, of the fences, and indeed of everything else, was easy to be seen at first view.

The two men had innumerable young trees planted about their huts, that when you came to the place nothing was to be seen but a wood; and though they had twice had their plantations demolished, once by their own countrymen, and once by the enemy, as shall be shown in its place, yet they had restored all again, and everything was thriving and flourishing about them. They had grapes planted in order, and managed like a vineyard, though they had themselves never seen anything of that kind; and by their good ordering their vines, their grapes

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were as good again as any of the others. They had also found themselves out a retreat in the thickest part of the woods, where, though there was not a natural cave, as I had found, yet they made one with incessant labour of their hands, and where, when the mischief which followed happened, they secured their wives and children, so as they could never be found; they having, by sticking innumerable stakes and poles of the wood which, as I said, grew so easily, made the wood unpassable except in some places, where they climbed up to get over the outside part, and then went on by ways of their own leaving.

As to the three reprobates, as I justly call them, though they were much civilised by their new settlement compared to what they were before, and were not so quarrelsome, having not the same opportunity, yet one of the certain companions of a profligate mind never left them, and that was their idleness. It is true, they planted corn and made fences; but Solomon's words were never better verified than in them: "I went by the vineyard of the slothful, and it was all overgrown with thorns;" for when the Spaniards came to view their crop, they could not see it in some places for weeds; the hedge had several gaps in it, where the wild goats had gotten in and eaten up the corn; perhaps here and there a dead bush was crammed in to stop them out for the present, but it was only shutting the stable door after the steed was stolen. Whereas, when they looked on the colony of the other two, there was the very face of industry and success upon all they did; there was not a weed to be seen in all their corn, or a gap in any of their hedges; and they, on the other hand, verified Solomon's words in another place: "That the diligent hand maketh rich;" for everything grew and thrived, and they

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had plenty within and without; they had more tame cattle than the other, more utensils and necessaries within doors, and yet more pleasure and diversion too.

It is true, the wives of the three were very handy and cleanly within doors; and having learned the English ways of dressing and cooking from one of the other Englishmen, who, as I said, was cook's mate on board the ship, they dressed their husbands' victuals very nicely and well; whereas the other could not be brought to understand it; but then the husband, who, as I say, had been cook's mate, did it himself. But as for the husbands of the three wives, they loitered about, fetched turtles' eggs, and caught fish and birds; in a word, anything but labour, and they fared accordingly. The diligent lived well and comfortably, and the slothful lived hard and beggarly; and so I believe, generally speaking, it is all over the world.

But now I come to a scene different from all that had happened before, either to them or to me; and the original of the story was this.

Early one morning there came on shore five or six canoes of Indians, or savages, call them which you please; and there is no room to doubt that they came upon the old errand of feeding upon their slaves. But that part was now so familiar to the Spaniards, and to our men too, that they did not concern themselves about it, as I did; but having been made sensible by their experience that their only business was to lie concealed, and that, if they were not seen by any of the savages, they would go off again quietly when their business was done, having as yet not the least notion of there being any inhabitants in the island; I say, having been made sensible of this, they had nothing to do but to give notice to all the three plantations to keep within

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doors, and not show themselves, only placing a scout in a proper place to give notice when the boats went to sea again.

This was, without doubt, very right; but a disaster spoiled all these measures, and made it known among the savages that there were inhabitants there, which was, in the end, the desolation of almost the whole colony. After the canoes with the savages were gone off, the Spaniards peeped abroad again, and some of them had the curiosity to go to the place where they had been, to see what they had been doing. Here, to their great surprise, they found three savages left behind, and lying fast asleep upon the ground. It was supposed they had either been so gorged with their inhuman feast that, like beasts, they were asleep, and would not stir when the others went, or they were wandered into the woods, and did not come back in time to be taken in.

The Spaniards were greatly surprised at this sight, and perfectly at a loss what to do. The Spaniard governor, as it happened, was with them, and his advice was asked; but he professed he knew not what to do. As for slaves, they had enough already; and as to killing them, they were none of them inclined to that. The Spaniard governor told me they could not think of shedding innocent blood; for as to them, the poor creatures had done them no wrong, invaded none of their property, and they thought they had no just quarrel against them to take away their lives.

And here I must, in justice to these Spaniards, observe, that let the accounts of Spanish cruelty in Mexico and Peru be what they will, I never met with seventeen men, of any nation whatsoever, in any foreign country, who were so universally modest, temperate, virtuous, so very good-humoured, and so courteous as these Spaniards; and as to cruelty, they

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had nothing of it in their very nature; no inhumanity, no barbarity, no outrageous passions, and yet all of them men of great courage and spirit.

Their temper and calmness had appeared in their bearing the insufferable usage of the three Englishmen; and their justice and humanity appeared now in the case of the savages, as above. After some consultation they resolved upon this, that they would lie still a while longer, till, if possible, these three men might be gone; but then the governor Spaniard recollected that the three savages had no boat, and that if they were left to rove about the island, they would certainly discover that there were inhabitants in it, and so they should be undone that way.

Upon this they went back again, and there lay the fellows fast asleep still; so they resolved to waken them, and take them prisoners, and they did so. The poor fellows were strangely frighted when they were seized upon and bound, and afraid, like the women, that they should be murdered and eaten; for it seems those people think all the world does as they do, eating men's flesh; but they were soon made easy as to that, and away they carried them.

It was very happy to them that they did not carry them home to their castle; I mean, to my palace under the hill; but they carried them first to the bower, where was the chief of their country work, such as the keeping the goats, the planting the corn, &c.; and afterwards they carried them to the habitation of the two Englishmen.

Here they were set to work, though it was not much they had for them to do; and whether it was by negligence in guarding them, or that they thought the fellows could not mend themselves, I know not, but one of them ran away, and taking into the woods, they could never hear of him more.

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They had good reason to believe he got home again soon after, in some other boats or canoes of savages, who came on shore three or four weeks afterwards, and who, carrying on their revels as usual, went off again in two days' time. This thought terrified them exceedingly; for they concluded, and that not without good cause indeed, that if this fellow came safe home among his comrades, he would certainly give them an account that there were people in the island, as also how few and weak they were; for this savage, as I observed before, had never been told, and it was very happy he had not, how many there were, or where they lived, nor had he ever seen or heard the fire of any of their guns, much less had they shown him any of their other retired places, such as the cave in the valley, or the new retreat which the two Englishmen had made, and the like.

The first testimony they had that this fellow had given intelligence of them was, that about two months after this six canoes of savages, with about seven or eight or ten men in a canoe, came rowing along the north side of the island, where they never used to come before, and landed about an hour after sunrise at a convenient place, about a mile from the habitation of the two Englishmen, where this escaped man had been kept. As the Spaniard governor said, had they been all there the damage would not have been so much, for not a man of them would have escaped; but the case differed now very much, for two men to fifty was too much odds. The two men had the happiness to discover them about a league off, so that it was above an hour before they landed, and as they landed a mile from their huts, it was some time before they could come at them. Now having great reason to believe that they were betrayed, the first thing they did was to

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bind the two slaves which were left, and cause two of the three men whom they brought with the women, who, it seems, proved very faithful to them, to lead them with their two wives, and whatever they could carry away with them, to their retired place in the woods, which I have spoken of above, and there to bind the two fellows hand and foot till they heard further.

In the next place, seeing the savages were all come on shore, and that they bent their course directly that way, they opened the fences where their milch-goats were kept, and drove them all out, leaving their goats to straggle into the woods whither they pleased, that the savages might think they were all bred wild; but the rogue who came with them was too cunning for that, and gave them an account of it all, for they went directly to the place.

When the two poor frighted men had secured their wives and goods, they sent the other slave they had of the three who came with the women, and who was at their place by accident, away to the Spaniards with all speed, to give them the alarm, and desire speedy help; and in the meantime they took their arms, and what ammunition they had, and retreated towards the place in the wood where their wives were sent, keeping at a distance, yet so that they might see, if possible, which way the savages took.

They had not gone far but that, from a rising ground, they could see the little army of their enemies come on directly to their habitation, and in a moment more could see all their huts and household stuff flaming up together, to their great grief and mortification; for they had a very great loss, to them irretrievable, at least for some time. They kept their station for a while till they found the

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savages, like wild beasts, spread themselves all over the place, rummaging every way, and every place they could think of, in search for prey, and in particular for the people, of whom it now plainly appeared they had intelligence.

The two Englishmen seeing this, thinking themselves not secure where they stood, because as it was likely some of the wild people might come that way, so they might come too many together, thought it proper to make another retreat about half a mile farther, believing, as it afterwards happened, that the farther they strolled the fewer would be together.

The next halt was at the entrance into a very thick grown part of the woods, and where an old trunk of a tree stood, which was hollow, and vastly large; and in this tree they both took their standing, resolving to see there what might offer.

They had not stood there long, but two of the savages appeared running directly that way, as if they had already had notice where they stood, and were coming up to attack them; and a little way farther they spied three more coming after them, and five more beyond them, all coming the same way, besides which they saw seven or eight more at a distance running another way; for in a word, they ran every way, like sportsmen beating for their game.

The poor men were now in great perplexity whether they should stand and keep their posture, or fly; but after a very short debate with themselves, they considered, that if the savages ranged the country thus before help came, they might, perhaps, find out their retreat in the woods, then all would be lost; so they resolved to stand them there; and if they were too many to deal with, then they would get up to the top of the tree, from whence they doubted not to

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defend themselves, fire excepted, as long as their ammunition lasted, though all the savages that were landed, which was near fifty, were to attack them.

Having resolved upon this, they next considered whether they should fire at the first two, or wait for the three, and so take the middle party, by which the two and the five that followed would be separated; and they resolved to let the two first pass by, unless they should spy them in the tree, and come to attack them. The two first savages also confirmed them in this regulation, by turning a little from them towards another part of the wood; but the three, and the five after them, came forwards directly to the tree, as if they had known the Englishmen were there.

Seeing them come so straight towards them, they resolved to take them in a line as they came; and as they resolved to fire but one at a time, perhaps the first shot might hit them all three; to which purpose the man who was to fire put three or four small bullets into his piece, and having a fair loophole, as it were, from a broken hole in the tree, he took a sure aim, without being seen, waiting till they were within about thirty yards of the tree, so that he could not miss.

While they were thus waiting, and the savages came on, they plainly saw that one of the three was the runaway savage that had escaped from them, and they both knew him distinctly, and resolved that, if possible, he should not escape, though they should both fire; so the other stood ready with his piece, that if he did not drop at the first shot, he should be sure to have a second.

But the first was too good a marksman to miss his aim; for as the savages kept near one another, a little behind in a line, in a word, he fired, and hit two of them directly. The foremost was killed out-

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right, being shot in the head; the second, which was the runaway Indian, was shot through the body, and fell, but was not quite dead; and the third had a little scratch in the shoulder, perhaps by the same ball that went through the body of the second; and being dreadfully frighted, though not much hurt, sat down upon the ground, screaming and yelling in a hideous manner.

The five that were behind, more frighted with the noise than sensible of the danger, stood still at first; for the woods made the sound a thousand times bigger than it really was, the echoes rattling from one side to another, and the fowls rising from all parts, screaming and making, every sort, a several kind of noise, according to their kind; just as it was when I fired the first gun that, perhaps, was ever shot off in that place since it was an island.

However, all being silent again, and they not knowing what the matter was, came on unconcerned, till they came to the place where their companions lay in a condition miserable enough; and here the poor ignorant creatures, not sensible that they were within reach of the same mischief, stood all of a huddle over the wounded man, talking, and, as may be supposed, inquiring of him how he came to be hurt; and who, 't is very rational to believe, told them that a flash of fire first, and immediately after that thunder from their gods, had killed two, and wounded him. This, I say, is rational; for nothing is more certain than that, as they saw no man near them, so they had never heard a gun in all their lives, or so much as heard of a gun; neither knew they anything of killing or wounding at a distance with fire and bullets. If they had, one might reasonably believe they would not have stood so unconcerned in viewing the fate of their fellows without some apprehension of their own.

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Our two men, though, as they confessed to me, it grieved them to be obliged to kill so many poor creatures, who at the same time had no notion of their danger; yet having them all thus in their power, and the first having loaded his piece again, resolved to let fly both together among them, and singling out, by agreement, which to aim at, they shot together, and killed, or very much wounded, four of them; the fifth, frighted even to death, though not hurt, fell with the rest; so that our men, seeing them all fall together, thought they had killed them all.

The belief that the savages were all killed made our two men come boldly out from the tree before they had charged their guns again, which was a wrong step, and they were under some surprise when they came to the place and found no less than four of the men alive, and of them two very little hurt, and one not at all. This obliged them to fall upon them with the stocks of their muskets; and first they made sure of the runaway savage, that had been the cause of all the mischief, and of another that was hurt in his knee, and put them out of their pain. Then the man that was not hurt at all came and kneeled down to them with his two hands held up, and made piteous moans to them by gestures and signs for his life, but could not say one word to them that they could understand.

However, they signed to him to sit down at the foot of a tree thereby; and one of the Englishmen, with a piece of rope-twine which he had by great chance in his pocket, tied his two feet fast together, and his two hands behind him, and there they left him, and with what speed they could made after the other two which were gone before, fearing they, or any more of them, should find the way to their covered place in the woods, where their wives, and the few

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goods they had left, lay. They came once in sight of the two men, but it was at a great distance. However, they had the satisfaction to see them cross over a valley towards the sea, the quite contrary way from that which led to their retreat, which they were afraid of; and being satisfied with that, they went back to the tree where they left their prisoner, who, as they supposed, was delivered by his comrades; for he was gone, and the two pieces of rope-yarn with which they bound him lay just at the foot of the tree.

They were now in as great concern as before, not knowing what course to take, or how near the enemy might be, or in what numbers; so they resolved to go away to the place where their wives were, to see if all was well there, and to make them easy, who were in fright enough to be sure; for though the savages were their own country-folk, yet they were most terribly afraid of them, and perhaps the more for the knowledge they had of them.

When they came there, they found the savages had been in the wood, and very near that place, but had not found it; for it was indeed inaccessible, by the trees standing so thick, as before, had not the persons seeking it been directed by those that knew it, which these did not. They found, therefore, everything very safe, only the women in a terrible fright. While they were here they had the comfort to have seven of the Spaniards come to their assistance; the other ten, with their servants and old Friday, I mean Friday's father, were gone in a body to defend their bower, and the corn and cattle that was kept there, in case the savages should have roved over to that side of the country; but they did not spread so far. With the seven Spaniards came one of the three savages, who, as I said, were their prisoners formerly, and with them also came the

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savage whom the Englishmen had left bound hand and foot at the tree; for it seems they came that way, saw the slaughter of the seven men, and unbound the eighth, and brought him along with them, where, however, they were obliged to bind him again, as they had the two others, who were left when the third ran away.

The prisoners began now to be a burden to them, and they were so afraid of their escaping, that they were once resolving to kill them all, believing they were under an absolute necessity to do so for their own preservation. However, the Spaniard governor would not consent to it, but ordered for the present that they should be sent out of the way to my old cave in the valley, and be kept there, with two Spaniards to guard them and give them food for their subsistence, which was done; and they were bound there hand and foot for that night.

When the Spaniards came, the two Englishmen were so encouraged, that they could not satisfy themselves to stay any longer there; but taking five of the Spaniards, and themselves, with four muskets and a pistol among them, and two stout quarter-staves, away they went in quest of the savages. And first, they came to the tree where the men lay that had been killed; but it was easy to see that some more of the savages had been there; for they had attempted to carry their dead men away, and had dragged two of them a good way, but had given it over. From thence they advanced to the first rising ground, where they stood and saw their camp destroyed, and where they had the mortification still to see some of the smoke; but neither could they here see any of the savages. They then resolved, though with all possible caution, to go forward towards their ruined plantation; but a little before they came thither, coming in sight of the sea-shore,

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they saw plainly the savages all embarking again in their canoes, in order to be gone.

They seemed sorry at first, and there was no way to come at them to give them a parting blow; but upon the whole were very well satisfied to be rid of them.

The poor Englishmen being now twice ruined, and all their improvement destroyed, the rest all agreed to come and help them to rebuild, and to assist them with needful supplies. Their three countrymen, who were not yet noted for having the least inclination to any good, yet as soon as they heard of it (for they, living remote eastward, knew nothing of the matter till all was over), came and offered their help and assistance, and did very friendly work for several days to restore their habitation, and make necessaries for them; and thus in a little time they were set upon their legs again.

About two days after this they had the further satisfaction of seeing three of the savages' canoes come driving on shore, and at some distance from them, two drowned men; by which they had reason to believe that they had met with a storm at sea, and had overset some of them, for it had blown very hard the very night after they went off.

However, as some might miscarry, so on the other hand enough of them escaped to inform the rest, as well of what they had done, as of what had happened to them, and to whet them on to another enterprise of the same nature, which they, it seems, resolved to attempt, with sufficient force to carry all before them; for except what the first man had told them of inhabitants, they could say little to it of their own knowledge, for they never saw one man; and the fellow being killed that had affirmed it, they had no other witness to confirm it to them.

It was five or six months after this before they heard any more of the savages, in which time our

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men were in hopes they had either forgot their former bad luck, or given over the hopes of better, when on a sudden they were invaded with the most formidable fleet of no less than eight and twenty canoes, full of savages, armed with bows and arrows, great clubs, wooden swords, and such like engines of war; and they brought such numbers with them, that, in short, it put all our people into the utmost consternation.

As they came on shore in the evening, and at the easternmost side of the island, our men had that night to consult and consider what to do; and in the first place, knowing that their being entirely concealed was their only safety before, and would much more be so now while the number of their enemies was so great, they therefore resolved, first of all, to take down the huts which were built for the two Englishmen, and drive away their goats to the old cave; because they supposed the savages would go directly thither as soon as it was day to play the old game over again, though they did not now land within two leagues of it.

In the next place, they drove away all the flock of goats they had at the old bower, as I called it, which belonged to the Spaniards, and, in short, left as little appearance of inhabitants anywhere as was possible; and the next morning early they posted themselves with all their force at the plantation of the two men, waiting for their coming. As they guessed, so it happened. These new invaders, leaving their canoes at the east end of the island, came ranging along the shore, directly towards the place, to the number of 250, as near as our men could judge. Our army was but small indeed; but that which was worse, they had not arms for all their number neither. The whole account, it seems, stood thus. First, as to the men:—

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17 Spaniards.
5 Englishmen.
1 Old Friday, or Friday's father.
3 The three slaves taken with the women, who proved very faithful.
3 Other slaves who lived with the Spaniards.

To arm these they had:—

11 Muskets.
5 Pistols.
3 Fowling-pieces.
5 Muskets, or fowling-pieces, which were taken by me from the mutinous seamen whom I reduced.
2 Swords.
3 Old halberds.

To their slaves they did not give either musket or fusee, but they had every one a halberd, or a long staff, like a quarter-staff, with a great spike of iron fastened into each end of it, and by his side a hatchet; also every one of our men had hatchets. Two of the women could not be prevailed upon but they would come into the fight, and they had bows and arrows, which the Spaniards had taken from the savages when the first action happened, which I have spoken of, where the Indians fought with one another; and the women had hatchets too.

The Spaniard governor, whom I have described so often, commanded the whole; and William Atkins, who, though a dreadful fellow for wickedness, was a most daring, bold fellow, commanded under him. The savages came forward like lions, and our men, which was the worst of their fate, had no advantage in their situation; only that Will Atkins, who now proved a most useful fellow, with six men, was planted just behind a small thicket of bushes, as an advanced guard, with orders to let the first of them

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pass by, and then fire into the middle of them, and as soon as he had fired to make his retreat, as nimbly as he could, round a part of the wood, and so come in behind the Spaniards where they stood, having a thicket of trees also before them.

When the savages came on, they ran straggling about every way in heaps, out of all manner of order, and William Atkins let about fifty of them pass by him; then seeing the rest come in a very thick throng, he orders three of his men to fire, having loaded their muskets with six or seven bullets apiece, about as big as large pistol-bullets. How many they killed or wounded they knew not; but the consternation and surprise was inexpressible among the savages. They were frighted to the last degree to hear such a dreadful noise, and see their men killed, and others hurt, but see nobody that did it. When in the middle of their fright William Atkins and his other three let fly again among the thickest of them, and in less than a minute the first three, being loaded again, gave them a third volley.

Had William Atkins and his men retired immediately as soon as they had fired, as they were ordered to do, or had the rest of the body been at hand to have poured in their shot continually, the savages had been effectually routed; for the terror that was among them came principally from this, viz., that they were killed by the gods with thunder and lightning, and could see nobody that hurt them. But William Atkins, staying to load again, discovered the cheat. Some of the savages, who were at a distance, spying them, came upon them behind; and though Atkins and his men fired at them also, two or three times, and killed above twenty, retiring as fast as they could, yet they wounded Atkins himself, and killed one of his fellow Englishmen with their arrows, as they did afterwards one Span-

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iard and one of the Indian slaves who came with the women. This slave was a most gallant fellow, and fought most desperately, killing five of them with his own hand, having no weapon but one of the armed staves and a hatchet.

Our men being thus hard laid at, Atkins wounded and two other men killed, retreated to a rising ground in the wood; and the Spaniards, after firing three volleys upon them, retreated also; for their number was so great, and they were so desperate, that though above fifty of them were killed, and more than so many wounded, yet they came on in the teeth of our men, fearless of danger, and shot their arrows like a cloud; and it was observed that their wounded men, who were not quite disabled, were made outrageous by their wounds, and fought like madmen.

When our men retreated, they left the Spaniard and the Englishman that was killed behind them; and the savages, when they came up to them, killed them over again in a wretched manner, breaking their arms, legs, and heads with their clubs and wooden swords, like true savages. But finding our men were gone, they did not seem to pursue them, but drew themselves up in a kind of a ring, which is, it seems, their custom, and shouted twice in token of their victory; after which, they had the mortification to see several of their wounded men fall, dying with the mere loss of blood.

The Spaniard governor having drawn his little body up together upon a rising ground, Atkins, though he was wounded, would have had him marched and charged them again altogether at once. But the Spaniard replied, "Seignior Atkins, you see how their wounded men fight; let them alone till morning; all these wounded men will be stiff and sore with their wounds, and faint with the loss of blood, and so we shall have the fewer to engage."

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The advice was good; but Will Atkins replied merrily, "That's true, Seignior, and so shall I too; and that's the reason I would go on while I am warm." "Well, Seignior Atkins," says the Spaniard, "you have behaved gallantly, and done your part; we will fight for you if you cannot come on, but I think it best to stay till morning." So they waited.

But as it was a clear moonlight night, and they found the savages in great disorder about their dead and wounded men, and a great hurry and noise among them where they lay, they afterwards resolved to fall upon them in the night, especially if they could come to give them but one volley before they were discovered, which they had a fair opportunity to do; for one of the two Englishmen, in whose quarter it was where the fight began, led them round between the woods and seaside westward, and then turning short south they came so near where the thickest of them lay, that before they were seen or heard eight of them fired in among them, and did dreadful execution upon them. In half a minute more eight others fired after them, pouring in their small shot in such a quantity, that abundance were killed and wounded; and all this while they were not able to see who hurt them, or which way to fly.

The Spaniards charged again with the utmost expedition, and then divided themselves into three bodies, and resolved to fall in among them altogether. They had in each body eight persons; that is to say, twenty-four, whereof were twenty-two men and the two women, who, by the way, fought desperately.

They divided the firearms equally in each party, and so of the halberds and staves. They would have had the women keep back, but they said they were resolved to die with their husbands. Having thus formed their little army, they marched out from among the trees, and came up to the teeth of the

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enemy, shouting and hallooing as loud as they could. The savages stood all together, but were in the utmost confusion, hearing the noise of our men shouting from three quarters together; they would have fought if they had seen us; and as soon as we came near enough to be seen, some arrows were shot, and poor old Friday was wounded, though not dangerously. But our men gave them no time, but running up to them fired among them three ways, and then fell in with the butt ends of their muskets, their swords, armed staves, and hatchets; and laid about them so well, that, in a word, they set up a dismal screaming and howling, flying to save their lives which way soever they could.

Our men were tired with the execution; and killed, or mortally wounded, in the two fights, about one hundred and eighty of them. The rest, being frighted out of their wits, scoured through the woods and over the hills, with all the speed and fear that nimble feet could help them to do; and as we did not trouble ourselves much to pursue them, they got all together to the seaside, where they landed, and where their canoes lay. But their disaster was not at an end yet, for it blew a terrible storm of wind that evening from the seaward, so that it was impossible for them to go off; nay, the storm continuing all night, when the tide came up their canoes were most of them driven by the surge of the sea so high upon the shore, that it required infinite toil to get them off; and some of them were even dashed to pieces against the beach, or against one another.

Our men, though glad of their victory, yet got little rest that night; but having refreshed themselves as well as they could, they resolved to march to that part of the island where the savages were fled, and see what posture they were in. This necessarily led them over the place where the fight

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had been, and where they found several of the poor creatures not quite dead, and yet past recovering life; a sight disagreeable enough to generous minds; for a truly great man, though obliged by the law of battle to destroy his enemy, takes no delight in his misery. However, there was no need to give any orders in this case; for their own savages, who were their servants, despatched those poor creatures with their hatchets.

At length they came in view of the place where the more miserable remains of the savages' army lay, where there appeared about a hundred still; there posture was generally sitting upon the ground, with their knees up towards their mouth, and the head put between the two hands, leaning down upon the knees.

When our men came within two musket-shot of them, the Spaniard governor ordered two muskets to be fired without ball, to alarm them; this he did, that by their countenance he might know what to expect, viz., whether they were still in heart to fight, or were so heartily beaten, as to be dispirited and discouraged, and so he might manage accordingly.

This stratagem took; for as soon as the savages heard the first gun, and saw the flash of the second, they started up from their feet in the greatest consternation imaginable; and as our men advanced swiftly towards them, they all ran screaming and yawling away, with a kind of a howling noise, which our men did not understand, and had never heard before; and thus they ran up the hills into the country.

At first, our men had much rather the weather had been calm, and they had all gone away to sea; but they did not then consider that this might probably have been the occasion of their coming again in such multitudes as not to be resisted; or, at least, to come

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so many, and so often, as would quite desolate the island and starve them. Will Atkins, therefore, who, notwithstanding his wound, kept always with them, proved the best counsellor in this case. His advice was, to take the advantage that offered, and clap in between them and their boats, and so deprive them of the capacity of ever returning any more to plague the island.

They consulted long about this, and some were against it, for fear of making the wretches fly to the woods, and live there desperate; and so they should have them to hunt like wild beasts, be afraid to stir out about their business, and have their plantations continually rifled, all their tame goats destroyed, and, in short, be reduced to a life of continual distress.

Will Atkins told them they had better have to do with a hundred men, than with a hundred nations; that as they must destroy their boats, so they must destroy the men, or be all of them destroyed themselves. In a word, he showed them the necessity of it so plainly, that they all came into it; so they went to work immediately with the boats, and getting some dry wood together from a dead tree, they tried to set some of them on fire; but they were so wet that they would not burn. However, the fire so burned the upper part, that it soon made them unfit for swimming in the sea as boats. When the Indians saw what they were about, some of them came running out of the woods, and coming as near as they could to our men, kneeled down and cried, *Oa, Oa, Waramoka,* and some other words of their language, which none of the others understood anything of; but as they made pitiful gestures and strange noises, it was easy to understand they begged to have their boats spared, and that they would be gone, and never come there again.

But our men were now satisfied that they had no

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way to preserve themselves or to save their colony, but effectually to prevent any of these people from ever going home again; depending upon this, that if ever so much as one of them got back into their country to tell the story, the colony was undone. So that letting them know that they should not have any mercy, they fell to work with their canoes, and destroyed them, every one that the storm had not destroyed before; at the sight of which the savages raised a hideous cry in the woods, which our people heard plain enough; after which they ran about the island like distracted men; so that, in a word, our men did not really know at first what to do with them.

Nor did the Spaniards, with all their prudence, consider that while they made those people thus desperate, they ought to have kept good guard at the same time upon their plantations; for though it is true they had driven away their cattle, and the Indians did not find out their main retreat, I mean my old castle at the hill, nor the cave in the valley, yet they found out my plantation at the bower, and pulled it all to pieces, and all the fences and planting about it; trod all the corn under foot; tore up the vines and grapes, being just then almost ripe, and did to our men an inestimable damage, though to themselves not one farthing worth of service.

Though our men were able to fight them upon all occasions, yet they were in no condition to pursue them, or hunt them up or down; for as they were too nimble of foot for our men when they found them single, so our men durst not go about single for fear of being surrounded with their numbers. The best was, they had no weapons; for though they had bows, they had no arrows left, nor any materials to make any, nor had they any edged tool or weapon among them.

The extremity and distress they were reduced to

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was great, and indeed deplorable, but at the same time our men were also brought to very bad circumstances by them; for though their retreats were preserved, yet their provision was destroyed, and their harvest spoiled; and what to do, or which way to turn themselves, they knew not. The only refuge they had now was the stock of cattle they had in the valley by the cave, and some little corn which grew there; and the plantation of the three Englishmen, William Atkins and his comrades, who were now reduced to two, one of them being killed by an arrow, which struck him on the side of his head, just under the temple, so that he never spoke more; and it was very remarkable, that this was the same barbarous fellow who cut the poor savage slave with his hatchet, and who afterwards intended to have murdered all the Spaniards.

I looked upon this case to have been worse at this time than mine was at any time after I first discovered the grains of barley and rice, and got into the manner of planting and raising my corn, and my tame cattle; for now they had, as I may say, a hundred wolves upon the island, which would devour everything they could come at, yet could very hardly be come at themselves.

The first thing they concluded when they saw what their circumstances were, was that they would, if possible, drive them up to the farther part of the island, south-west, that if any more savages came on shore, they might not find one another; then that they would daily hunt and harass them, and kill as many of them as they could come at, till they had reduced their number; and if they could at last tame them, and bring them to anything, they would give them corn, and teach them how to plant, and live upon their daily labour.

In order to this they so followed them, and so

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terrified them with their guns, that in a few days, if any of them fired a gun at an Indian, if he did not hit him, yet he would fall down for fear; and so dreadfully frighted they were, that they kept out of sight farther and farther, till at last our men following them, and every day almost killing and wounding some of them, they kept up in the woods and hollow places so much, that it reduced them to the utmost misery for want of food; and many were afterwards found dead in the woods, without any hurt, but merely starved to death.

When our men found this, it made their hearts relent, and pity moved them; especially the Spaniard governor, who was the most gentlemanly, generous-minded man that ever I met with in my life; and he proposed, if possible, to take one of them alive, and bring him to understand what they meant, so far as to be able to act as interpreter, and to go among them, and see if they might be brought to some conditions that might be depended upon, to save their lives, and to do us no spoil.

It was some while before any of them could be taken; but being weak and half-starved, one of them was at last surprised, and made a prisoner. He was sullen at first, and would neither eat or drink; but finding himself kindly used, and victuals given him, and no violence offered him, he at last grew tractable, and came to himself.

They brought old Friday to him, who talked often with him, and told him how kind the others would be to them all; that they would not only save their lives, but would give them a part of the island to live in, provided they would give satisfaction that they would keep in their own bounds, and not come beyond it, to injure or prejudice others; and that they should have corn given them to plant and make it grow for their bread, and some bread given them

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for their present subsistence; and old Friday bade the fellow go and talk with the rest of his countrymen, and see what they said to it, assuring them that if they did not agree immediately they should be all destroyed.

The poor wretches, thoroughly humbled, and reduced in number to about thirty-seven, closed with the proposal at the first offer, and begged to have some food given them; upon which twelve Spaniards and two Englishmen, well armed, with three Indian slaves, and old Friday, marched to the place where they were. The three Indian slaves carried them a large quantity of bread, some rice boiled up to cakes, and dried in the sun, and three live goats; and they were ordered to go to the side of a hill, where they sat down, ate the provisions very thankfully, and were the most faithful fellows to their words that could be thought of; for except when they came to beg victuals and directions, they never came out of their bounds; and there they lived when I came to the island, and I went to see them.

They had taught them both to plant corn, make bread, breed tame goats, and milk them; they wanted nothing but wives, and they soon would have been a nation. They were confined to a neck of land surrounded with high rocks behind them, and lying plain towards the sea before them, on the south-east corner of the island. They had land enough, and it was very good and fruitful; they had a piece of land about a mile and half broad, and three or four miles in length.

Our men taught them to make wooden spades, such as I made for myself; and gave them among them twelve hatchets, and three or four knives; and there they lived, the most subjected innocent creatures that ever were heard of.

After this the colony enjoyed a perfect tranquillity

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with respect to the savages till I came to revisit them, which was above two years; not but that now and then some canoes of savages came on shore for their triumphal unnatural feasts; but as they were of several nations, and, perhaps, had never heard of those that came before, or the reason of it, they did not make any search or inquiry after their countrymen; and if they had, it would have been very hard to have found them out.

Thus, I think, I have given a full account of all that happened to them to my return, at least that was worth notice. The Indians, or savages, were wonderfully civilised by them, and they frequently went among them; but forbid, on pain of death, any of the Indians coming to them, because they would not have their settlement betrayed again.

One thing was very remarkable, viz., that they taught the savages to make wicker-work, or baskets, but they soon outdid their masters; for they made abundance of most ingenious things in wicker-work; particularly all sorts of baskets, sieves, bird-cages, cupboards, &c., as also chairs to sit on, stools, beds, couches, and abundance of other things, being very ingenious at such work when they were once put in the way of it.

My coming was a particular relief to these people, because we furnished them with knives, scissors, spades, shovels, pickaxes, and all things of that kind which they could want.

With the help of these tools they were so very handy, that they came at last to build up their huts, or houses, very handsomely; raddling, or working it up like basket-work all the way round, which was a very extraordinary piece of ingenuity, and looked very odd; but was an exceeding good fence, as well against heat as against all sorts of vermin; and our men were so taken with it, that they got the wild

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savages to come and do the like for them; so that when I came to see the two Englishmen's colonies, they looked, at a distance, as if they lived all like bees in a hive. And as for Will Atkins, who was now become a very industrious, necessary, and sober fellow, he had made himself such a tent of basket-work as I believe was never seen. It was one hundred and twenty paces round in the outside, as I measured by my steps; the walls were as close worked as a basket, in panels or squares of thirty-two in number, and very strong, standing about seven feet high. In the middle was another, not above twenty-two paces round, but built stronger, being eight-square in its form, and in the eight corners stood eight very strong posts, round the top of which he laid strong pieces, pinned together with wooden pins, from which he raised a pyramid for the roof of eight rafters, very handsome I assure you, and joined together very well, though he had no nails, and only a few iron spikes, which he made himself too out of the old iron that I had left there; and indeed this fellow showed abundance of ingenuity in several things which he had no knowledge of. He made him a forge, with a pair of wooden bellows to blow the fire; he made himself charcoal for his work, and he formed out of one of the iron crows a middling good anvil to hammer upon; in this manner he made many things, but especially hooks, staples, and spikes, bolts and hinges. But to return to the house; after he had pitched the roof of his innermost tent, he worked it up between the rafters with basket-work, so firm, and thatched that over again so ingeniously with rice-straw, and over that a large leaf of a tree, which covered the top, that his house was as dry as if it had been tiled or slated. Indeed, he owned that the savages made the basket-work for him.

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The outer circuit was covered, as a lean-to, all round this inner apartment, and long rafters lay from the two and thirty angles to the top of the posts of the inner house, being about twenty feet distance; so that there was a space like a walk within the outer wicker wall, and without the inner, near twenty feet wide.

The inner place he partitioned off with the same wicker-work, but much fairer, and divided it into six apartments, so that he had six rooms on a floor, and out of every one of these there was a door: first, into the entry, or coming into the main tent; and another door into the space or walk that was round it; so that walk was also divided into six equal parts, which served not only for retreat, but to store up any necessaries which the family had occasion for. These six spaces not taking up the whole circumference, what other apartments the outer circle had, were thus ordered: as soon as you were in at the door of the outer circle, you had a short passage straight before you to the door of the inner house; but on either side was a wicker partition, and a door in it, by which you went first into a large room or store-house, twenty feet wide, and about thirty feet long, and through that into another not quite so long; so that in the outer circle was ten handsome rooms, six of which were only to be come at through the apartments of the inner tent, and served as closets or retiring rooms to the respective chambers of the inner circle; and four large warehouses or barns, or what you please to call them, which went in through one another, two on either hand of the passage, that led through the outer door to the inner tent.

Such a piece of basket-work, I believe, was never seen in the world; nor a house or tent so neatly contrived, much less so built. In this great beehive

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lived the three families; that is to say, Will Atkins and his companion; the third was killed, but his wife remained with three children; for she was, it seems, big with child when he died, and the other two were not at all backward to give the widow her full share of everything, I mean as to their corn, milk, grapes, &c., and when they killed a kid, or found a turtle on the shore; so that they all lived well enough, though it was true they were not so industrious as the other two, as has been observed already.

One thing, however, cannot be omitted, viz., that is for religion, I don't know that there was anything of that kind among them. They pretty often indeed put one another in mind that there was a God by the very common method of seamen, viz., swearing by His name; nor were their poor, ignorant, savage wives much the better for having been married to Christians, as we must call them; for as they knew very little of God themselves, so they were utterly incapable of entering into any discourse with their wives about a God, or to talk anything to them concerning religion.

The utmost of all the improvement which I can say the wives had made from them was, that they had taught them to speak English pretty well; and all the children they had, which were near twenty in all, were taught to speak English too, from their first learning to speak, though they at first spoke it in a very broken manner, like their mothers. There were none of these children above six years old when I came thither; for it was not much above seven years that they had fetched these five savage ladies over, but they had all been pretty fruitful, for they had all children, more or less. I think the cook's mate's wife was big of her sixth child; and the mothers were all a good sort of well-governed, quiet,

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laborious women, modest and decent, helpful to one another, mighty observant and subject to their masters, I cannot call them husbands; and wanted nothing but to be well instructed in the Christian religion, and to be legally married; both which were happily brought about afterwards by my means, or at least in consequence of my coming among them.

Having thus given an account of the colony in general, and pretty much of my five runagate Englishmen, I must say something of the Spaniards, who were the main body of the family, and in whose story there are some incidents also remarkable enough.

I had a great many discourses with them about their circumstances when they were among the savages. They told me readily, that they had no instances to give of their application or ingenuity in that country; that they were a poor, miserable, dejected handful of people; that if means had been put into their hands, they had yet so abandoned themselves to despair, and so sunk under the weight of their misfortunes, that they thought of nothing but starving. One of them, a grave and very sensible man, told me he was convinced they were in the wrong; that it was not the part of wise men to give up themselves to their misery, but always to take hold of the helps which reason offered, as well for present support, as for future deliverance. He told me that grief was the most senseless insignificant passion in the world; for that it regarded only things past, which was generally impossible to be recalled or to be remedied, but had no views to things to come, and had no share in anything that looked like deliverance, but rather added to the affliction than proposed a remedy; and upon this he repeated a Spanish proverb, which though I cannot repeat in just the same words that he spoke in, yet I remember

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I made it into an English proverb of my own, thus:

In trouble to be troubled,
Is to have your trouble doubled.

He ran on then in remarks upon all the little improvements I had made in my solitude; my unwearied application, as he called it, and how I had made a condition, which in its circumstances was at first much worse than theirs, a thousand times more happy than theirs was even now, when they were all together. He told me it was remarkable that Englishmen had a greater presence of mind in their distress than any people that ever he met with; that their unhappy nation, and the Portuguese, were the worst men in the world to struggle with misfortunes; for their first step in dangers, after the common efforts are over, was always to despair, lie down under it and die, without rousing their thoughts up to proper remedies for escape.

I told him their case and mine differed exceedingly; that they were cast upon the shore without necessaries, without supply of food, or of present sustenance, till they could provide; that it is true I had this disadvantage and discomfort, that I was alone; but then the supplies I had providentially thrown into my hands by the unexpected driving of the ship on shore, was such a help, as would have encouraged any creature in the world to have applied himself as I had done. "Seignior," says the Spaniard, "had we poor Spaniards been in your case, we should never have gotten half those things out of the ship as you did; nay," says he, "we should never have found means to have gotten a raft to carry them, or to have gotten the raft on shore without boat or sail; and how much less should we have done," said he, "if any of us had

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been alone?" Well, I desired him to abate his compliment, and go on with the history of their coming on shore, where they landed. He told me they unhappily landed at a place where there were people without provisions; whereas, had they had the common sense to have put off to sea again, and gone to another island a little farther, they had found provisions, though without people; there being an island that way, as they had been told, where there was provisions, though no people; that is to say, that the Spaniards of Trinidad had frequently been there, and had filled the island with goats and hogs at several times, where they had bred in such multitudes, and where turtle and sea-fowls were in such plenty, that they could have been in no want of flesh though they had found no bread; whereas here they were only sustained with a few roots and herbs which they understood not, and which had no substance in them, and which the inhabitants gave them sparingly enough, and who could treat them no better unless they would turn cannibals, and eat men's flesh, which was the great dainty of their country.

They gave me an account how many ways they strove to civilise the savages they were with, and to teach them rational customs in the ordinary way of living, but in vain; and how they retorted it upon them as unjust, that they, who came there for assistance and support, should attempt to set up for instructors of those that gave them bread; intimating, it seems, that none should set up for the instructors of others but those who could live without them.

They gave me dismal accounts of the extremities they were driven to; how sometimes they were many ways without any food at all, the island they were upon being inhabited by a sort of savages that lived more indolent, and for that reason were less supplied with the necessaries of life than they had

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reason to believe others were in the same part of the world; and yet they found that these savages were less ravenous and voracious than those who had better supplies of food.

Also they added, that they could not but see with what demonstrations of wisdom and goodness the governing providence of God directs the events of things in the world, which they said appeared in their circumstances; for if, pressed by the hardships they were under, and the barrenness of the country where they were, they had searched after a better place to live in, they had then been out of the way of the relief that happened to them by my means.

Then they gave me an account how the savages whom they lived among expected them to go out with them into their wars; and it was true, that as they had firearms with them, had they not had the disaster to lose their ammunition, they should not have been serviceable only to their friends, but have made themselves terrible both to friends and enemies; but being without powder and shot, and yet in a condition that they could not in reason deny to go out with their landlords to their wars, when they came into the field of battle they were in a worse condition than the savages themselves, for they neither had bows or arrows, nor could they use those the savages gave them, so that they could do nothing but stand still and be wounded with arrows, till they came up to the teeth of their enemy; and then indeed the three halberds they had were of use to them, and they would often drive a whole little army before them with those halberds and sharpened sticks put into the muzzles of their muskets; but that for all this, they were sometimes surrounded with multitudes, and in great danger from their arrows; till at last they found the way to make themselves large targets of wood, which they covered with skins of

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wild beasts, whose names they knew not, and these covered them from the arrows of the savages; that notwithstanding these, they were sometimes in great danger, and were once five of them knocked down together with the clubs of the savages, which was the time when one of them was taken prisoner, that is to say, the Spaniard whom I had relieved, that at first they thought had been killed; but when afterwards they heard he was taken prisoner, they were under the greatest grief imaginable, and would willingly have ventured their lives to have rescued him.

They told me, that when they were so knocked down, the rest of their company rescued them, and stood over them, fighting till they were come to themselves, all but him who they thought had been dead; and then they made their way with their halberds and pieces, standing close together in a line, through a body of above a thousand savages, beating down all that came in their way, got the victory over their enemies, but to their great sorrow, because it was with the loss of their friend; whom the other party, finding him alive, carried off with some others, as I gave an account in my former.

They described, most affectionately, how they were surprised with joy at the return of their friend and companion in misery, who they thought had been devoured by wild beasts of the worst kind, viz., by wild men; and yet how more and more they were surprised with the account he gave them of his errand, and that there was a Christian in any place near, much more one that was able, and had humanity enough, to contribute to their deliverance.

They described how they were astonished at the sight of the relief I sent them, and at the appearance of loaves of bread, things they had not seen since their coming to that miserable place; how often they crossed it, and blessed it, as bread sent from heaven;

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and what a reviving cordial it was to their spirits to taste it, as also of the other things I had sent for their supply. And after all, they would have told me something of the joy they were in at the sight of a boat and pilots to carry them away to the person and place from whence all these new comforts came; but they told me it was impossible to express it by words, for their excessive joy naturally driving them to unbecoming extravagances, they had no way to describe them but by telling me that they bordered upon lunacy, having no way to give vent to their passion suitable to the sense that was upon them; that in some it worked one way, and in some another; and that some of them, through a surprise of joy, would burst out into tears; others be stark mad, and others immediately faint. This discourse extremely affected me, and called to my mind Friday's ecstacy when he met his father, and the poor people's ecstacy when I took them up at sea, after their ship was on fire; the mate of the ship's joy, when he found himself delivered in the place where he expected to perish; and my own joy, when after twenty-eight years' captivity I found a good ship ready to carry me to my own country. All these things made me more sensible of the relation of those poor men, and more affected with it.

Having thus given a view of the state of things as I found them, I must relate the heads of what I did for these people, and the condition in which I left them. It was their opinion, and mine too, that they would be troubled no more with the savages; or that, if they were, they would be able to cut them off, if they were twice as many as before; so they had no concern about that. Then I entered into a serious discourse with the Spaniard, whom I called governor, about their stay in the island; for as I was not come to carry any of them

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off, so it would not be just to carry off some and leave others, who perhaps would be unwilling to stay if their strength was diminished.

On the other hand, I told them I came to establish them there, not to remove them; and then I let them know that I had brought with me relief of sundry kinds for them; that I had been at a great charge to supply them with all things necessary, as well for their convenience as their defence; and that I had such and such particular persons with me, as well to increase and recruit their number, as by the particular necessary employments which they were bred to, being artificers, to assist them in those things in which at present they were to seek.

They were all together when I talked thus to them; and before I delivered to them the stores I had brought, I asked them, one by one, if they had entirely forgot and buried the first animosities that had been among them, and would shake hands with one another, and engage in a strict friendship and union of interest, that so there might be no more misunderstandings or jealousies.

Will Atkins, with abundance of frankness and good-humour, said they had met with afflictions enough to make them all sober, and enemies enough to make them all friends; that for his part, he would live and die with them; and was so far from designing anything against the Spaniards, that he owned they had done nothing to him but what his own mad humours made necessary, and what he would have done, and perhaps much worse, in their case; and that he would ask them pardon, if I desired it, for the foolish and brutish things he had done to them; and was very willing and desirous of living in terms of entire friendship and union with them, and would do anything that lay in his power to convince them of it; and as for going to England,

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he cared not if he did not go thither these twenty years.

The Spaniards said they had indeed at first disarmed and excluded Will Atkins and his two countrymen, for their ill conduct, as they had let me know; and they appealed to me for the necessity they were under to do so; but that Will Atkins had behaved himself so bravely in the great fight they had with the savages, and on several occasions since, and had shown himself so faithful to, and concerned for, the general interest of them all, that they had forgotten all that was past, and thought he merited as much to be trusted with arms, and to be supplied with necessaries, as any of them; and that they had testified their satisfaction in him by committing the command to him, next to the governor himself; and as they had an entire confidence in him and all his countrymen, so they acknowledged they had merited that confidence by all the methods that honest men could merit to be valued and trusted; and they most heartily embraced the occasion of giving me this assurance, that they would never have any interest separate from one another.

Upon these frank and open declarations of friendship, we appointed the next day to dine all together, and indeed we made a splendid feast. I caused the ship's cook and his mate to come on shore and dress our dinner, and the old cook's mate we had on shore assisted. We brought on shore six pieces of good beef, and four pieces of pork, out of the ship's provision, with our punch-bowl, and materials to fill it; and in particular, gave them ten bottles of French claret, and ten bottles of English beer, things that neither the Spaniards or the Englishmen had tasted for many years, and which it may be supposed they were exceeding glad of.

The Spaniards added to our feast five whole kids,

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which the cooks roasted; and three of them were sent, covered up close, on board the ship to the seamen, that they might feast on fresh meat from on shore, as we did with their salt meat from on board.

After this feast, at which we were very innocently merry, I brought out my cargo of goods, wherein, that there might be no dispute about dividing, I showed them that there was sufficient for them all; and desired that they might all take an equal quantity of the goods that were for wearing; that is to say, equal when made up. At first, I distributed linen sufficient to make every one of them four shirts; and, at the Spaniards' request, afterwards made them up six; these were exceeding comfortable to them, having been what, as I may say, they had long since forgot the use of, or what it was to wear them.

I allotted the thin English stuffs, which I mentioned before, to make every one a light coat like a frock, which I judged fittest for the heat of the season, cool and loose; and ordered that whenever they decayed they should make more, as they thought fit. The like for pumps, shoes, stockings, and hats, &c.

I cannot express what pleasure, what satisfaction, sat upon the countenances of all these poor men when they saw the care I had taken of them, and how well I had furnished them. They told me I was a father to them; and that having such a correspondent as I was in so remote a part of the world, it would make them forget that they were left in a desolate place; and they all voluntarily engaged to me not to leave the place without my consent.

Then I presented to them the people I had brought with me, particularly the tailor, the smith,

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and the two carpenters, all of them most necessary people; but above all my general artificer, than whom they could not name anything that was more useful to them; and the tailor, to show his concern for them, went to work immediately, and, with my leave, made them every one a shirt the first thing he did; and which was still more, he taught the women not only how to sew and stitch, and use the needle, but made them assist to make the shirts for their husbands and for all the rest.

As to the carpenters, I scarce need mention how useful they were, for they took in pieces all my clumsy unhandy things, and made them clever convenient tables, stools, bedsteads, cupboards, lockers, shelves, and everything they wanted of that kind.

But to let them see how Nature made artificers at first, I carried the carpenters to see Will Atkins's basket-house, as I called it, and they both owned they never saw an instance of such natural ingenuity before, nor anything so regular and so handily built, at least of its kind; and one of them, when he saw it, after musing a good while, turning about to me, "I am sure," says he, "that man has no need of us; you need do nothing but give him tools."

Then I brought them out all my store of tools, and gave every man a digging spade, a shovel, and a rake, for we had no harrows or ploughs; and to every separate place a pickaxe, crow, a broad axe, and a saw; always appointing, that as often as any were broken, or worn-out, they should be supplied, without grudging, out of the general stores that I left behind.

Nails, staples, hinges, hammers, chisels, knives, scissors, and all sorts of tools and iron-work, they had without tale as they required; for no man would care to take more than they wanted, and he must be a fool that would waste or spoil them on any account

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whatever; and for the use of the smith I left two tons of unwrought iron for a supply.

My magazine of powder and arms which I brought them was such, even to profusion, that they could not but rejoice at them; for now they could march, as I used to do, with a musket upon each shoulder, if there was occasion; and were able to fight a thousand savages, if they had but some little advantages of situation, which also they could not miss of if they had occasion.

I carried on shore with me the young man whose mother was starved to death, and the maid also; she was a sober, well-educated, religious young woman, and behaved so inoffensively, that every one gave her a good word. She had, indeed, an unhappy life with us, there being no woman in the ship but herself; but she bore it with patience. After a while, seeing things so well ordered, and in so fine a way of thriving upon my island, and considering that they had neither business or acqaintance in the East Indies, or reason for taking so long a voyage; I say, considering all this, both of them came to me, and desired I would give them leave to remain on the island, and be entered among my family, as they called it.

I agreed to it readily, and they had a little plat of ground allotted to them, where they had three tents or houses set up, surrounded with a basket-work, palisadoed like Atkins's, adjoining to his plantation. Their tents were contrived so, that they had each of them a room apart to lodge in, and a middle tent, like a great storehouse, to lay all their goods in, and to eat and drink in. And now the other two Englishmen removed their habitation to the same place, and so the island was divided into three colonies, and no more, viz., the Spaniards, with old Friday and the first servants, at my old habitation

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under the hill, which was, in a word, the capital city, and where they had so enlarged and extended their works, as well under as on the outside of the hill, that they lived, though perfectly concealed, yet full at large. Never was there such a little city in a wood, and so hid, I believe, in any part of the world; for I verily believe a thousand men might have ranged the island a month, and if they had not known there was such a thing, and looked on purpose for it, they would not have found it; for the trees stood so thick and so close, and grew so fast matted into one another, that nothing but cutting them down first could discover the place, except the only two narrow entrances where they went in and out could be found, which was not very easy. One of them was just down at the water edge of the creek, and it was afterwards above two hundred yards to the place; and the other was up the ladder at twice, as I have already formerly described it; and they had a large wood, thick planted, also on the top of the hill, which contained above an acre, which grew apace, and covered the place from all discovery there, with only one narrow place between two trees, not easy to be discovered, to enter on that side.

The other colony was that of Will Atkins, where there were four families of Englishmen, I mean those I had left there, with their wives and children; three savages that were slaves; the widow and children of the Englishman that was killed; the young man and the maid; and by the way, we made a wife of her also before we went away. There were also the two carpenters and the tailor, whom I brought with me for them; also the smith, who was a very necessary man to them, especially as a gunsmith, to take care of their arms; and my other man, whom I called Jack-of-all-trades, who was in himself as good

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almost as twenty men, for he was not only a very ingenious fellow, but a very merry fellow; and before I went away we married him to the honest maid that came with the youth in the ship I mentioned before.

And now I speak of marrying, it brings me naturally to say something of the French ecclesiastic that I had brought with me out of the ship's crew whom I took up at sea. It is true this man was a Roman, and perhaps it may give offence to some hereafter if I leave anything extraordinary upon record of a man whom, before I begin, I must, to set him out in just colours, represent in terms very much to his disadvantage in the account of Protestants; as, first, that he was a Papist; secondly, a Popish priest; and thirdly, a French Popish priest.

But justice demands of me to give him a due character; and I must say, he was a grave, sober, pious, and most religious person; exact in his life, extensive in his charity, and exemplary in almost everything he did. What, then, can any one say against my being very sensible of the value of such a man, notwithstanding his profession? though it may be my opinion, perhaps, as well as the opinion of others who shall read this, that he was mistaken.

The first hour that I began to converse with him, after he had agreed to go with me to the East Indies, I found reason to delight exceedingly in his conversation; and he first began with me about religion, in the most obliging manner imaginable.

"Sir," says he, "you have not only, under God" (and at that he crossed his breast), "saved my life, but you have admitted me to go this voyage in your ship, and by your obliging civility have taken me into your family, giving me an opportunity of free conversation. Now, sir," says he, "you see by my habit what my profession is, and I guess by your

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nation what yours is; I may think it is my duty, and doubtless it is so, to use my utmost endeavours on all occasions to bring all the souls I can to the knowledge of the truth, and to embrace the Catholic doctrine; but as I am here under your permission, and in your family, I am bound, in justice to your kindness, as well as in decency and good manners, to be under your government; and therefore I shall not, without your leave, enter into any debates on the point of religion, in which we may not agree, farther than you shall give me leave."

I told him his carriage was so modest, that I could not but acknowledge it; that it was true we were such people as they called heretics, but that he was not the first Catholic that I had conversed with without falling into any inconveniences, or carrying the questions to any height in debate; that he should not find himself the worse used for being of a different opinion from us; and if we did not converse without any dislike on either side upon that score, it should be his fault, not ours.

He replied that he thought all our conversation might be easily separated from disputes; that it was not his business to cap principles with every man he discoursed with; and that he rather desired me to converse with him as a gentleman, than as a *religieuse*; that if I would give him leave at any time to discourse upon religious subjects, he would readily comply with it; and that then he did not doubt but I would allow him also to defend his own opinions as well as he could; but that without my leave he would not break in upon me with any such thing.

He told me farther, that he would not cease to do all that became him in his office as a priest, as well as a private Christian, to procure the good of the ship, and the safety of all that was in her; and

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though, perhaps, we would not join with him, and he could not pray *with* us, he hoped he might pray *for* us, which he would do upon all occasions. In this manner we conversed; and as he was of a most obliging gentleman-like behaviour, so he was, if I may be allowed to say so, a man of good sense, and, as I believe, of great learning.

He gave me a most diverting account of his life, and of the many extraordinary events of it; of many adventures which had befallen him in the few years that he had been abroad in the world, and particularly this was very remarkable, viz., that in the voyage he was now engaged, he had had the misfortune to be five times shipped and unshipped, and never to go to the place whither any of the ships he was in were at first designed; that his first intent was to have gone to Martinico, and that he went on board a ship bound thither at St. Malo; but being forced into Lisbon by bad weather, the ship received some damage by running aground in the mouth of the river Tagus, and was obliged to unload her cargo there; that finding a Portuguese ship there bound to the Madeiras, and ready to sail, and supposing he should easily meet with a vessel there bound to Martinico, he went on board, in order to sail to the Madeiras; but the master of the Portuguese ship being but an indifferent mariner, had been out in his reckoning, and they drove to Fayal; where, however, he happened to find a very good market for his cargo, which was corn, and therefore resolved not to go to the Madeiras, but to load salt at the Isle of May, and go away to Newfoundland. He had no remedy in this exigence but to go with the ship, and had a pretty good voyage as far as the Banks, so they call the place where they catch the fish, where meeting with a French ship bound from France to Quebec, in the river of Canada, and

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from thence to Martinico, to carry provisions, he thought he should have an opportunity to complete his first design. But when he came to Quebec the master of the ship died, and the ship proceeded no farther. So the next voyage he shipped himself for France, in the ship that was burnt, when we took them up at sea, and then shipped with us for the East Indies, as I have already said. Thus he had been disappointed in five voyages, all, as I may call it, in one voyage, besides what I shall have occasion to mention farther of the same person.

But I shall not make digressions into other men's stories which have no relation to my own. I return to what concerns our affair in the island. He came to me one morning, for he lodged among us all the while we were upon the island, and it happened to be just when I was going to visit the Englishmen's colony at the farthest part of the island; I say, he came to me, and told me with a very grave countenance that he had for two or three days desired an opportunity of some discourse with me, which he hoped would not be displeasing to me, because he thought it might in some measure correspond with my general design, which was the prosperity of my new colony, and perhaps might put it at least more than he yet thought it was in the way of God's blessing.

I looked a little surprised at the last part of his discourse, and turning a little short, "How, sir," said I, "can it be said that we are not in the way of God's blessing, after such visible assistances and wonderful deliverances as we have seen here, and of which I have given you a large account?"

"If you had pleased, sir," said he, with a world of modesty, and yet with great readiness, "to have heard me, you would have found no room to have been displeased, much less to think so hard of me,

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that I should suggest that you have not had wonderful assistances and deliverances; and I hope, on your behalf, that you are in the way of God's blessing, and your design is exceeding good, and will prosper. But, sir, though it were more so than is even possible to you, yet there may be some among you that are not equally right in their actions; and you know that in the story of the children of Israel, one Achan in the camp removed God's blessing from them, and turned His hand so against them, that six and thirty of them, though not concerned in the crime, were the object of Divine vengeance, and bore the weight of that punishment."

I was sensibly touched with his discourse, and told him his inference was so just, and the whole design seemed so sincere, and was really so religious in its own nature, that I was very sorry I had interrupted him, and begged him to go on; and in the meantime, because it seemed that what we had both to say might take up some time, I told him I was going to the Englishmen's plantations, and asked him to go with me, and we might discourse of it by the way. He told me he would more willingly wait on me thither, because there, partly, the thing was acted which he desired to speak to me about. So we walked on, and I pressed him to be free and plain with me in what he had to say.

"Why then, sir," says he, "be pleased to give me leave to lay down a few propositions as the foundation of what I have to say, that we may not differ in the general principles, though we may be of some differing opinions in the practice of particulars. First, sir, though we differ in some of the doctrinal articles of religion, and it is very unhappy that it is so, especially in the case before us, as I shall show afterwards; yet there are some general principles in which we both agree, viz., first, that there is a God,

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and that this God having given us some stated general rules for our service and obedience, we ought not willingly and knowingly to offend Him, either by neglecting to do what He has commanded, or by doing what He has expressly forbidden; and let our different religions be what they will, this general principle is readily owned by us all, that the blessing of God does not ordinarily follow a presumptuous sinning against His command; and every good Christian will be affectionately concerned to prevent any that are under his care, living in a total neglect of God and His commands. It is not your men being Protestants, whatever my opinion may be of such, that discharges me from being concerned for their souls, and from endeavouring, if it lies before me, that they should live in as little distance from and enmity with their Maker as possible; especially if you give me leave to meddle so far in your circuit."

I could not yet imagine what he aimed at, and told him I granted all he had said, and thanked him that he would so far concern himself for us; and begged he would explain the particulars of what he had observed, that like Joshua, to take his own parable, I might put away the accursed thing from us.

"Why then, sir," says he, "I will take the liberty you give me; and there are three things which, if I am right, must stand in the way of God's blessing upon your endeavours here, and which I should rejoice, for your sake, and their own, to see removed. And, sir," says he, "I promise myself that you will fully agree with me in them all as soon as I name them; especially because I shall convince you that every one of them may with great ease, and very much to your satisfaction, be remedied."

He gave me no leave to put in any more civilities,

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but went on. "First, sir," says he, "you have here four Englishmen, who have fetched women from among the savages, and have taken them as their wives, and have had many children by them all, and yet are not married to them after any stated legal manner, as the laws of God and man require; and therefore are yet, in the sense of both, no less than adulterers, and living in adultery. To this, sir," says he, "I know you will object, that there was no clergyman or priest of any kind, or of any profession, to perform the ceremony; nor any pen and ink, or paper, to write down a contract of marriage, and have it signed between them. And I know also, sir, what the Spaniard governor has told you; I mean of the agreement that he obliged them to make when they took these women, viz., that they should choose them out by consent, and keep separately to them; which, by the way, is nothing of a marriage, no agreement with the women as wives, but only an agreement among themselves, to keep them from quarrelling.

"But, sir, the essence of the sacrament of matrimony (so he called it, being a Roman) consists not only in the mutual consent of the parties to take one another as man and wife, but in the formal and legal obligation that there is in the contract to compel the man and woman at all times to own and acknowledge each other; obliging the men to abstain from all other women, to engage in no other contract while these subsist; and on all occasions, as ability allows, to provide honestly for them and their children; and to oblige the women to the same, or like conditions, *mutatis mutandis*, on their side.

"Now, sir," says he, "these men may, when they please, or when occasion presents, abandon these women, disown their children, leave them to perish, and take other women and marry them whilst these are living." And here he added with some warmth,

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"How, sir, is God honoured in this unlawful liberty? And how shall a blessing succeed your endeavours in this place, however good in themselves, and however sincere in your design, while these men, who at present are your subjects, under your absolute government and dominion, are allowed by you to live in open adultery?"

I confess I was struck at the thing itself, but much more with the convincing arguments he supported it with. For it was certainly true, that though they had no clergyman upon the spot, yet a formal contract on both sides, made before witnesses, and confirmed by any token which they had all agreed to be bound by, though it had been but breaking a stick between them, engaging the men to own these women for their wives upon all occasions, and never to abandon them or their children, and the women to the same with their husbands, had been an effectual lawful marriage in the sight of God, and it was a great neglect that it was not done.

But I thought to have gotten off with my young priest by telling him, that all that part was done when I was not here; and they had lived so many years with them now, that if it was an adultery it was past remedy, they could do nothing in it now.

"Sir," says he, "asking your pardon for such freedom, you are right in this; that it being done in your absence, you could not be charged with that part of the crime; but I beseech you, flatter not yourself that you are not therefore under an obligation to do your utmost now to put an end to it. How can you think but that, let the time past lie on whom it will, all the guilt for the future will lie entirely upon you? Because it is certainly in your power now to put an end to it, and in nobody's power but yours."

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I was so dull still, that I did not take him right, but I imagined that by putting an end to it he meant that I should part them, and not suffer them to live together any longer; and I said to him I could not do this by any means, for that it would put the whole island into confusion. He seemed surprised that I should so far mistake him. "No, sir," says he, "I do not mean that you should now separate them, but legally and effectually marry them now; and as, sir, my way of marrying them may not be so easy to reconcile them to, though it will be as effectual even by your own laws; so your way may be as well before God, and as valid among men; I mean by a written contract, signed by both man and woman, and by all the witnesses present, which all the laws of Europe would decree to be valid."

I was amazed to see so much true piety, and so much sincerity of zeal, besides the unusual impartiality in his discourse, as to his own party or church, and such true warmth for the preserving people that he had no knowledge of or relation to; I say, for preserving them from transgressing the laws of God; the like of which I had indeed not met with anywhere. But recollecting what he had said of marrying them by a written contract, which I knew would stand too, I returned it back upon him, and told him I granted all that he had said to be just, and on his part very kind; that I would discourse with the men upon the point now, when I came to them; and I knew no reason why they should scruple to let him marry them all; which I knew well enough would be granted to be as authentic and valid in England, as if they were married by one of our own clergymen. What was afterwards done in this matter, I shall speak of by itself.

I then pressed him to tell me what was the second

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complaint which he had to make, acknowledging that I was very much his debtor for the first, and thanked him heartily for it. He told me he would use the same freedom and plainness in the second, and hoped I would take it as well; and this was, that notwithstanding these English subjects of mine, as he called them, had lived with those women for almost seven years, had taught them to speak English, and even to read it; and that they were, as he perceived, women of tolerable understanding and capable of instruction; yet they had not to this hour taught them anything of the Christian religion; no, not so much as to know that there was a God, or a worship, or in what manner God was to be served; or that their own idolatry, and worshipping they knew not whom, was false and absurd.

This, he said, was an unaccountable neglect, and what God would certainly call them to account for, and perhaps at last take the work out of their hands. He spoke this very affectionately and warmly. "I am persuaded," says he, "had those men lived in the savage country whence their wives came, the savages would have taken more pains to have brought them to be idolaters, and to worship the devil, than any of these men, so far as he could see, had taken with them to teach them the knowledge of the true God. Now, sir," said he, "though I do not acknowledge your religion, or you mine, yet we should be glad to see the devil's servants, and the subjects of his kingdom, taught to know the general principles of the Christian religion; that they might at least hear of God, and of a Redeemer, and of the resurrection, and of a future state, things which we all believe; they had at least been so much nearer coming into the bosom of the true Church, than they are now in the public profession of idolatry and devil worship."

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I could hold no longer; I took him in my arms, and embraced him with an excess of passion. "How far," said I to him, "have I been from understanding the most essential part of a Christian, viz., to love the interest of the Christian Church, and the good of other men's souls! I scarce have known what belongs to being a Christian." — "Oh, sir, do not say so," replied he; "this thing is not your fault." — "No," says I; "but why did I never lay it to heart as well as you?" — "'T is not too late yet," said he; "be not too forward to condemn yourself." — "But what can be done now?" said I; "you see I am going away." — "Will you give me leave," said he, "to talk with these poor men about it?" — "Yes, with all my heart," said I; "and I will oblige them to give heed to what you say too." — "As to that," said he, "we must leave them to the mercy of Christ; but it is our business to assist them, encourage them, and instruct them; and if you will give me leave, and God His blessing, I do not doubt but the poor ignorant souls shall be brought home into the great circle of Christianity, into the particular faith that we all embrace; and that even while you stay here." Upon this I said, "I shall not only give you leave, but give you a thousand thanks for it." What followed on this account I shall mention also again in its place.

I now pressed him for the third article in which we were to blame. "Why really," says he, "it is of the same nature, and I will proceed, asking your leave, with the same plainness as before; it is about your poor savages, who are, as I may say, your conquered subjects. It is a maxim, sir, that is, or ought to be received among all Christians, of what Church, or pretended Church soever, viz., The Christian knowledge ought to be propagated by all possible means, and on all possible occasions. 'T is on

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this principle that our Church sends missionaries into Persia, India, and China; and that our clergy, even of the superior sort, willingly engage in the most hazardous voyages, and the most dangerous residence among murderers and barbarians, to teach them the knowledge of the true God, and to bring them over to embrace the Christian faith. Now, sir, you have such an opportunity here to have six or seven and thirty poor savages brought over from idolatry to the knowledge of God, their Maker and Redeemer, that I wonder how you can pass such an occasion of doing good, which is really worth the expense of a man's whole life."

I was now struck dumb indeed, and had not one word to say; I had here a spirit of true Christian zeal for God and religion before me, let his particular principles be of what kind soever. As for me, I had not so much as entertained a thought of this in my heart before, and I believe should not have thought of it; for I looked upon these savages as slaves, and people whom, had we had any work for them to do, we would have used as such, or would have been glad to have transported them to any other part of the world; for our business was to get rid of them, and we would all have been satisfied if they had been sent to any country, so they had never seen their own. But to the case: I say, I was confounded at his discourse, and knew not what answer to make him. He looked earnestly at me, seeing me in some disorder. "Sir," says he, "I shall be very sorry if what I have said gives you any offence." — "No, no," says I, "I am offended with nobody but myself; but I am perfectly confounded not only to think that I should never take any notice of this before, but with reflecting what notice I am able to take of it now. You know, sir," said I, "what circumstances I am in; I am bound

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to the East Indies, in a ship freighted by merchants, and to whom it would be an insufferable piece of injustice to detain their ship here, the men lying all this while at victuals and wages upon the owners' account. It is true I agreed to be allowed twelve days here, and if I stay more I must pay £3 sterling per diem demurrage; nor can I stay upon demurrage above eight days more, and I have been here thirteen days already, so that I am perfectly unable to engage in this work, unless I would suffer myself to be left behind here again; in which case, if this single ship should miscarry in any part of her voyage, I should be just in the same condition that I was left in here at first, and from which I have been so wonderfully delivered."

He owned the case was very hard upon me as to my voyage, but laid it home upon my conscience, whether the blessing of saving seven and thirty souls was not worth my venturing all I had in the world for? I was not so sensible of that as he was. I returned upon him thus: "Why, sir, it is a valuable thing indeed to be an instrument in God's hand to convert seven and thirty heathens to the knowledge of Christ; but as you are an ecclesiastic, and are given over to the work, so that it seems so naturally to fall into the way of your profession, how is it that you do not rather offer yourself to undertake it, than press me to it?"

Upon this he faced about, just before me, as we walked along, and putting me to a full stop, made me a very low bow. "I most heartily thank God, and you, sir," says he, "for giving me so evident a call to so blessed a work; and if you think yourself discharged from it, and desire me to undertake it, I will most readily do it, and think it a happy reward for all the hazards and difficulties of such a broken disappointed voyage as I have met with,

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that I may be dropped at last into so glorious a work."

I discovered a kind of rapture in his face while he spoke this to me; his eyes sparkled like fire, his face glowed, and his colour came and went as if he had been falling into fits; in a word, he was fired with the joy of being embarked in such a work. I paused a considerable while before I could tell what to say to him, for I was really surprised to find a man of such sincerity and zeal, and carried out in his zeal beyond the ordinary rate of men, not of his profession only, but even of any profession whatsoever. But after I had considered it awhile, I asked him seriously if he was in earnest, and that he would venture, on the single consideration of any attempt on those poor people, to be locked up in an unplanted island for perhaps his life, and at last might not know whether he should be able to do them any good, or not?

He turned short upon me, and asked me what I called a venture? "Pray, sir," said he, "what do you think I consented to go in your ship to the East Indies for?" — "Nay," said I, "that I know not, unless it was to preach to the Indians." — "Doubtless it was," said he; "and do you think if I can convert these seven and thirty men to the faith of Christ, it is not worth my time, though I should never be fetched off the island again? Nay, is it not infinitely of more worth to save so many souls than my life is, or the life of twenty more of the same profession? Yes, sir," says he, "I would give Christ and the Blessed Virgin thanks all my days, if I could be made the least happy instrument of saving the souls of these poor men, though I was never to set my foot off this island, or see my native country any more. But since you will honour me," says he, "with putting me into this work, for which I

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will pray for you all the days of my life, I have one humble petition to you," said he, "besides." — "What is that?" said I. — "Why," says he, "it is, that you will leave your man Friday with me, to be my interpreter to them, and to assist me; for without some help I cannot speak to them, or they to me."

I was sensibly troubled at his requesting Friday, because I could not think of parting with him, and that for many reasons. He had been the companion of my travels; he was not only faithful to me, but sincerely affectionate to the last degree; and I had resolved to do something considerable for him if he outlived me, as it was probable he would. Then I knew that as I had bred Friday up to be a Protestant it would quite confound him to bring him to embrace another profession; and he would never, while his eyes were open, believe that his old master was a heretic, and would be damned; and this might in the end ruin the poor fellow's principles, and so turn him to his first idolatry.

However, a sudden thought relieved me in this strait, and it was this: I told him I could not say that I was willing to part with Friday on any account whatever; though a work that to him was of more value than his life, ought to be to me of much less value than the keeping or parting with a servant; but on the other hand, I was persuaded that Friday would by no means consent to part with me; and I could not force him to it without his consent without manifest injustice, because I had promised and engaged him to me that he would never leave me unless I put him away.

He seemed very much concerned at it; for he had no rational access to these poor people, seeing he did not understand one word of their language, nor they one word of his. To remove this difficulty, I told

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him Friday's father had learnt Spanish, which I found he also understood, and he should serve him for an interpreter; so he was much better satisfied, and nothing could persuade him but he would stay to endeavour to convert them; but Providence gave another and very happy turn to all this.

I come back now to the first part of his objections. When we came to the Englishmen, I sent for them all together; and after some account given them of what I had done for them, viz., what necessary things I had provided for them, and how they were distributed, which they were very sensible of, and very thankful for, I began to talk to them of the scandalous life they led, and gave them a full account of the notice the clergyman had already taken of it; and arguing how unchristian and irreligious a life it was, I first asked them if they were married men or bachelors? They soon explained their condition to me, and showed me that two of them were widowers, and the other three were single men or bachelors. I asked them with what consciences they could take these women, and lie with them, as they had done, call them their wives, and have so many children by them, and not be married lawfully to them?

They all gave me the answer that I expected, viz., that there was nobody to marry them; that they agreed before the governor to keep them as their wives, and to keep them and own them as their wives; and they thought, as things stood with them, they were as legally married as if they had been married by a parson, and with all the formalities in the world.

I told them that no doubt they were married in the sight of God, and were bound in conscience to keep them as their wives; but that the laws of men being otherwise, they might pretend they were not

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married, and so desert the poor women and children hereafter; and that their wives, being poor, desolate women, friendless and moneyless, would have no way to help themselves. I therefore told them, that unless I was assured of their honest intent, I could do nothing for them; but would take care that what I did should be for the women and their children without them; and that unless they would give some assurances that they would marry the women, I could not think it was convenient they should continue together as man and wife; for that it was both scandalous to men and offensive to God, who they could not think would bless them if they went on thus.

All this went on as I expected; and they told me, especially Will Atkins, who seemed now to speak for the rest, that they loved their wives as well as if they had been born in their own native country, and would not leave them upon any account whatever; and they did verily believe their wives were as virtuous and as modest, and did to the utmost of their skill as much for them and for their children as any women could possibly do, and they would not part with them on any account; and Will Atkins for his own particular added, if any man would take him away, and offer to carry him home to England, and make him captain of the best man-of-war in the navy, he would not go with him if he might not carry his wife and children with him; and if there was a clergyman in the ship, he would be married to her now with all his heart.

This was just as I would have it. The priest was not with me at that moment, but was not far off; so to try him farther, I told him I had a clergyman with me, and if he was sincere I would have him married the next morning, and bid him consider of it, and talk with the rest. He said, as for himself,

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he need not consider of it at all, for he was very ready to do it, and was glad I had a minister with me; and he believed they would be all willing also. I then told him that my friend the minister was a Frenchman, and could not speak English, but that I would act the clerk between them. He never so much as asked me whether he was Papist or Protestant, which was indeed what I was afraid of; but, I say, they never inquired about it. So we parted; I went back to my clergyman, and Will Atkins went in to talk with his companions. I desired the French gentleman not to say anything to them till the business was thorough ripe, and I told him what answer the men had given me.

Before I went from their quarter they all came to me, and told me they had been considering what I had said; that they were very glad to hear I had a clergyman in my company; and they were very willing to give me the satisfaction I desired, and to be formally married as soon as I pleased; for they were far from desiring to part with their wives; and that they meant nothing but what was very honest when they chose them. So I appointed them to meet me the next morning, and that in the meantime they should let their wives know the meaning of the marriage law; and that it was not only to prevent any scandal, but also to oblige them that they should not forsake them, whatever might happen.

The women were easily made sensible of the meaning of the thing, and were very well satisfied with it, as indeed they had reason to be; so they failed not to attend all together at my apartment the next morning, where I brought out my clergyman; and though he had not on a minister's gown, after the manner of England, or the habit of a priest, after the manner of France; yet having a black vest,

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something like a cassock, with a sash round it, he did not look very unlike a minister; and as for his language, I was his interpreter.

But the seriousness of his behaviour to them, and the scruples he made of marrying the women because they were not baptized and professed Christians, gave them an exceeding reverence for his person; and there was no need after that to inquire whether he was a clergyman or no.

Indeed I was afraid his scruple would have been carried so far as that he would not have married them at all; nay, notwithstanding all I was able to say to him he resisted me, though modestly, yet very steadily, and at last refused absolutely to marry them unless he had first talked with the men and the women too; and though at first I was a little backward to it, yet at last I agreed to it with a good will, perceiving the sincerity of his design.

When he came to them, he let them know that I had acquainted him with their circumstances, and with the present design; that he was very willing to perform that part of his function, and marry them as I had desired; but that before he could do it, he must take the liberty to talk with them. He told them that in the sight of all indifferent men, and in the sense of the laws of society, they had lived all this while in an open adultery; and that it was true that nothing but the consenting to marry, or effectually separating them from one another now, could put an end to it; but there was a difficulty in it too, with respect to the laws of Christian matrimony, which he was not fully satisfied about, viz., that of marrying one that is a professed Christian to a savage, an idolater, and a heathen, one that is not baptized; and yet that he did not see that there was time left for it to endeavour to persuade the women to be baptized, or to profess the name of Christ,

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whom they had, he doubted, heard nothing of, and without which they could not be baptized.

He told them, he doubted they were but indifferent Christians themselves; that they had but little knowledge of God or of His ways, and therefore he could not expect that they had said much to their wives on that head yet; but that unless they would promise him to use their endeavour with their wives to persuade them to become Christians, and would, as well as they could, instruct them in the knowledge and belief of God that made them, and to worship Jesus Christ that redeemed them, he could not marry them; for he would have no hand in joining Christians with savages; nor was it consistent with the principles of the Christian religion, and was indeed expressly forbidden in God's law.

They heard all this very attentively, and I delivered it very faithfully to them from his mouth, as near his own words as I could, only sometimes adding something of my own to convince them how just it was, and how I was of his mind; and I always very faithfully distinguished between what I said for myself and what were the clergyman's words. They told me it was very true what the gentleman had said, that they were but very indifferent Christians themselves, and that they never talked to their wives about religion. — "Lord, sir," says Will Atkins, "how should we teach them religion? Why, we know nothing ourselves; and besides, sir," said he, "should we go to talk to them of God, and Jesus Christ, and heaven and hell, 't would be to make them laugh at us, and ask us what we believe ourselves; and if we should tell them we believe all the things that we speak of to them, such as of good people going to heaven, and wicked people to the devil, they would ask us where we intend to go ourselves that believe all this, and are such wicked

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fellows, as we indeed are. Why, sir, 't is enough to give them a surfeit of religion at first hearing. Folks must have some religion themselves before they pretend to teach other people." — "Will Atkins," said I to him, "though I am afraid what you say has too much truth in it, yet can you not tell your wife that she 's in the wrong; that there is a God, and a religion better than her own; that her gods are idols; that they can neither hear or speak; that there is a great Being that made all things, and that can destroy all that He had made; that He rewards the good, and punishes the bad; and that we are to be judged by Him, at last, for all we do here? You are not so ignorant but even Nature itself will teach you that all this is true; and I am satisfied you know it all to be true, and believe it yourself."

"That 's true, sir," said Atkins; "but with what face can I say anything to my wife of all this, when she will tell me immediately it cannot be true?" — "Not true!" said I; "what do you mean by that?" — "Why, sir," said he, "she will tell me it cannot be true; that this God I shall tell her of can be just, or can punish or reward, since I am not punished and sent to the devil, that have been such a wicked creature, as she knows I have been, even to her, and to everybody else; and that I should be suffered to live, that have been always acting so contrary to what I must tell her is good, and to what I ought to have done."

"Why truly, Atkins," said I, "I am afraid thou speakest too much truth;" and with that I let the clergyman know what Atkins had said, for he was impatient to know. "Oh!" said the priest, "tell him there is one thing will make him the best minister in the world to his wife, and that is repentance; for none teach repentance like true penitents. He

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wants nothing but to repent, and then he will be so much the better qualified to instruct his wife; he will then be able to tell her that there is not only a God, and that He is the just rewarder of good and evil; but that He is a merciful Being, and with infinite goodness and long-suffering forbears to punish those that offend; waiting to be gracious, and willing not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should return and live; that oftentimes suffers wicked men to go on a long time, and even reserves damnation to the general day of retribution; that it is a clear evidence of God, and of a future state, that righteous men receive not their reward, or wicked men their punishment, until they come into another world; and this will lead him to teach his wife the doctrine of the resurrection, and of the last judgment. Let him but repent for himself, he will be an excellent preacher of repentance to his wife."

I repeated all this to Atkins, who looked very serious all the while, and who, we could easily perceive, was more than ordinarily affected with it; when being eager, and hardly suffering me to make an end, "I know all this, master," says he, "and a great deal more; but I han't the impudence to talk thus to my wife, when God and my own conscience knows, and my wife will be an undeniable evidence against me, that I have lived as I had never heard of a God or future state, or anything about it; and to talk of my repenting, alas!" and with that he fetched a deep sigh, and I could see that tears stood in his eyes, "'t is past all that with me."— "Past it, Atkins!" said I; "what dost thou mean by that?"—"I know well enough what I mean," says he; "I mean 't is too late; and that is too true."

I told my clergyman word for word what he said. The poor zealous priest (I must call him so, for be

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his opinion what it will, he had certainly a most singular affection for the good of other men's souls, and it would be hard to think he had not the like for his own), I say, this zealous, affectionate man could not refrain tears also; but recovering himself, he said to me, "Ask him but one question, Is he easy that it is too late, or is he troubled, and wishes it were not so?" I put the question fairly to Atkins; and he answered with a great deal of passion, how could any man be easy in a condition that certainly must end in eternal destruction? that he was far from being easy; but that, on the contrary, he believed it would one time or other ruin him. "What do you mean by that?" said I. "Why," he said, "he believed he should, one time or other, cut his throat to put an end to the terror of it."

The clergyman shook his head, with a great concern in his face, when I told him all this; but turning quick to me upon it, says he, "If that be his case, you may assure him it is not too late; Christ will give him repentance. But pray," says he, "explain this to him, that as no man is saved but by Christ, and the merits of His passion, procuring Divine mercy for him, how can it be too late for any man to receive mercy? Does he think he is able to sin beyond the power or reach of Divine mercy? Pray tell him, there may be a time when provoked mercy will no longer strive, and when God may refuse to hear; but that 't is never too late for men to ask mercy; and we that are Christ's servants are commanded to preach mercy at all times, in the name of Jesus Christ, to all those that sincerely repent; so that 't is never too late to repent."

I told Atkins all this, and he heard me with great earnestness; but it seemed as if he turned off the discourse to the rest; for he said to me he would go and have some talk with his wife; so he went out

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awhile, and we talked to the rest. I perceived they were all stupidly ignorant as to matters of religion, much as I was when I went rambling away from my father; and yet that there were none of them backward to hear what had been said; and all of them seriously promised that they would talk with their wives about it, and do their endeavour to persuade them to turn Christians.

The clergyman smiled upon me when I reported what answer they gave, but said nothing a good while; but at last shaking his head, "We that are Christ's servants," says he, "can go no further than to exhort and instruct; and when men comply, submit to the reproof, and promise what we ask, 't is all we can do. We are bound to accept their good words; but believe me, sir," said he, "whatever you may have known of the life of that man you call Will Atkins, I believe he is the only sincere convert among them. I take that man to be a true penitent; I won't despair of the rest, but that man is apparently struck with the sense of his past life; and I doubt not but when he comes to talk religion to his wife, he will talk himself effectually into it; for attempting to teach others is sometimes the best way of teaching ourselves. I knew a man, who having nothing but a summary notion of religion himself, and being wicked and profligate to the last degree in his life, made a thorough reformation in himself by labouring to convert a Jew. If that poor Atkins begins but once to talk seriously of Jesus Christ to his wife, my life for it he talks himself into a thorough convert, makes himself a penitent; and who knows what may follow?"

Upon this discourse, however, and their promising, as above, to endeavour to persuade their wives to embrace Christianity, he married the other three couple; but Will Atkins and his wife were not yet come in.

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After this my clergyman, waiting awhile, was curious to know where Atkins was gone; and turning to me, says he, "I entreat you, sir, let us walk out of your labyrinth here and look; I dare say we shall find this poor man somewhere or other talking seriously to his wife, and teaching her already something of religion." I began to be of the same mind; so we went out together, and I carried him a way which none knew but myself, and where the trees were so thick set, as that it was not easy to see through the thicket of leaves, and far harder to see in than to see out; when coming to the edge of the wood I saw Atkins and his tawny savage wife sitting under the shade of a bush, very eager in discourse. I stopped short till my clergyman came up to me, and then having showed him where they were, we stood and looked very steadily at them a good while.

We observed him very earnest with her, pointing up to the sun, and to every quarter of the heavens, then down to the earth, then out to the sea, then to himself, then to her, to the woods, to the trees. "Now," says my clergyman, "you see my words are made good, the man preaches to her; mark him now, he is telling her that our God has made him, and her, and the heavens, the earth, the sea, the woods, the trees, &c." — "I believe he is," said I. Immediately we perceived Will Atkins start up upon his feet, fall down on his knees, and lift up both his hands; we suppose he said something, but we could not hear him; it was too far for that. He did not continue kneeling half a minute, but comes and sits down again by his wife, and talks to her again. We perceived then the woman very attentive, but whether she said anything or no we could not tell. While the poor fellow was upon his knees, I could see the tears run plentifully down my clergyman's cheeks, and I could hardly forbear myself; but it was a great

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affliction to us both that we were not near enough to hear anything that passed between them.

Well, however, we could come no nearer for fear of disturbing them; so we resolved to see an end of this piece of still conversation, and it spoke loud enough to us without the help of voice. He sat down again, as I have said, close by her, and talked again earnestly to her, and two or three times we could see him embrace her most passionately; another time we saw him take out his handkerchief and wipe her eyes, and then kiss her again, with a kind of transport very unusual; and after several of these things we see him, on a sudden, jump up again, and lend her his hand to help her up, when immediately leading her by the hand a step or two, they both kneeled down together, and continued so about two minutes.

My friend could bear it no longer, but cries out aloud, "St. Paul, St. Paul, behold he prayeth!" I was afraid Atkins would hear him, therefore I entreated him to withhold himself awhile, that we might see an end of the scene, which to me, I must confess, was the most affecting, and yet the most agreeable, that ever I saw in my life. Well, he strove with himself, and contained himself for awhile, but was in such raptures of joy to think that the poor heathen woman was become a Christian, that he was not able to contain himself. He wept several times; then throwing up his hands and crossing his breast, said over several things ejaculatory, and by way of giving God thanks for so miraculous a testimony of the success of our endeavours. Some he spoke softly, and I could not well hear; others audibly; some in Latin, some in French; then two or three times the tears of joy would interrupt him, that he could not speak at all. But I begged that he would compose himself, and let us more narrowly and fully observe

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what was before us, which he did for a time, and the scene was not ended there yet; for after the poor man and his wife were risen again from their knees, we observed he stood talking still eagerly to her; and we observed by her motion that she was greatly affected with what he said, by her frequent lifting up her hands, laying her hand to her breast, and such other postures as usually express the greatest seriousness and attention. This continued about half a quarter of an hour, and then they walked away too; so that we could see no more of them in that situation.

I took this interval to talk with my clergyman; and first I told him, I was glad to see the particulars we had both been witnesses to; that though I was hard enough of belief in such cases, yet that I began to think it was all very sincere here, both in the man and his wife, however ignorant they might both be; and I hoped such a beginning would have a yet more happy end; "and who knows," said I, "but these two may in time, by instruction and example, work upon some of the others?" — "Some of them!" said he, turning quick upon me, "ay, upon all of them. Depend upon it, if those two savages, for he has been but little better as you relate it, should embrace Jesus Christ, they will never leave till they work upon all the rest; for true religion is naturally communicative, and he that is once made a Christian will never leave a pagan behind him if he can help it." I owned it was a most Christian principle to think so, and a testimony of a true zeal, as well as a generous heart in him. "But, my friend," said I, "will you give me leave to start one difficulty here? I cannot tell how to object the least thing against that affectionate concern which you show for the turning the poor people from their paganism to the Christian religion; but how does this comfort you,

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while these people are, in your account, out of the pale of the Catholic Church, without which, you believe, there is no salvation, so that you esteem these but heretics; and for other reasons, as effectually lost as the pagans themselves?"

To this he answered with abundance of candour and Christian charity, thus: "Sir, I am a Catholic of the Roman Church, and a priest of the order of St. Benedict, and I embrace all the principles of the Roman faith; but yet, if you will believe me, and that I do not speak in compliment to you, or in respect to my circumstances and your civilities; I say, nevertheless, I do not look upon you, who call yourselves reformed, without some charity. I dare not say, though I know it is our opinion in general — I say, I dare not say that you cannot be saved; I will by no means limit the mercy of Christ so far as to think that He cannot receive you into the bosom of His Church, in a manner to us unperceivable, and which it is impossible for us to know; and I hope you have the same charity for us. I pray daily for your being all restored to Christ's Church, by whatsoever methods He, who is all-wise, is pleased to direct. In the meantime, sure you will allow it to consist with me, as a Roman, to distinguish far between a Protestant and a pagan; between one that calls on Jesus Christ, though in a way which I do not think is according to the true faith, and a savage, a barbarian, that knows no God, no Christ, no Redeemer; and if you are not within the pale of the Catholic Church, we hope you are nearer being restored to it than those that knew nothing of God or His Church; and I rejoice, therefore, when I see this poor man, who, you say, has been a profligate, and almost a murderer, kneel down and pray to Jesus Christ, as we suppose he did, though not fully enlightened; believing that

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God, from whom every such work proceeds, will sensibly touch his heart, and bring him to the further knowledge of that truth in His own time. And if God shall influence this poor man to convert and instruct the poor ignorant savage his wife, I can never believe that he shall be cast away himself; and have I not reason then to rejoice the nearer any are brought to the knowledge of Christ, though they may not be brought quite home into the bosom of the Catholic Church, just in the time when I may desire it; leaving it to the goodness of Christ to perfect His work in His own time, and in His own way? Certainly I would rejoice if all the savages in America were brought, like this poor woman, to pray to God, though they were to be all Protestants at first, rather than they should continue pagans and heathens; firmly believing, that He that had bestowed the first light to them, would further illuminate them with a beam of His heavenly grace, and bring them into the pale of His Church, when He should see good."

I was astonished at the sincerity and temper of this truly pious Papist, as much as I was oppressed by the power of his reasoning; and it presently occurred to my thoughts that if such a temper was universal, we might be all Catholic Christians, whatever church or particular profession we joined to, or joined in; that a spirit of charity would soon work us all up into right principles; and, in a word, as he thought that the like charity would make us all Catholics, so I told him I believed had all the members of his Church the like moderation, they would soon be all Protestants; and there we left that part, for we never disputed at all.

However, I talked to him another way; and taking him by the hand, "My friend," says I, "I wish all the clergy of the Romish Church were blessed with

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such moderation, and had an equal share of your charity. I am entirely of your opinion; but I must tell you, that if you should preach such doctrine in Spain or Italy, they would put you into the Inquisition."

"It may be so," said he; "I know not what they might do in Spain or Italy; but I will not say they would be the better Christians for that severity, for I am sure there is no heresy in too much charity."

Well, as Will Atkins and his wife were gone, our business there was over, so we went back our own way, and when we came back we found them waiting to be called in. Observing this, I asked my clergyman if we should discover to him that we had seen him under the bush, or no? and it was his opinion we should not; but that we should talk to him first, and hear what he would say to us. So we called him in alone, nobody being in the place but ourselves; and I began with him thus:

"Will Atkins," said I, "prythee what education had you? What was your father?"

W. A. A better man than ever I shall be. Sir, my father was a clergyman.

R. C. What education did he give you?

W. A. He would have taught me well, sir; but I despised all education, instruction, or correction, like a beast as I was.

R. C. It's true, Solomon says, "He that despises reproof is brutish."

W. A. Ay, sir, I was brutish indeed; I murdered my father; for God's sake, sir, talk no more about that, sir; I murdered my poor father.

Pr. Ha! a murderer!

[Here the priest started, for I interpreted every word as he spoke it, and looked pale. It seems he believed that Will had really killed his own father.]

R. C. No, no, sir; I do not understand him so.

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Will Atkins, explain yourself. You did not kill your father, did you, with your own hand?

W. A. No, sir, I did not cut his throat; but I cut the thread of his comforts, and shortened his days; I broke his heart by the most ungrateful, unnatural return for the most tender, affectionate treatment that ever father gave, or child could receive.

R. C. Well, I did not ask you about your father to extort this confession; I pray God give you repentance for it, and forgive you that and all your other sins; but I asked you because I see that, though you have not much learning, yet you are not so ignorant as some are in things that are good; that you have known more of religion a great deal than you have practised.

W. A. Though you, sir, did not extort the confession that I made about my father, conscience does; and whenever we come to look back upon our lives, the sins against our indulgent parents are certainly the first that touch us; the wounds they make lie the deepest; and the weight they leave will lie heaviest upon the mind of all the sins we can commit.

R. C. You talk too feelingly and sensibly for me, Atkins; I cannot bear it.

W. A. You bear it, master! I dare say you know nothing of it.

R. C. Yes, Atkins, every shore, every hill, nay, I may say every tree in this island, is witness to the anguish of my soul for my ingratitude and base usage of a good tender father — a father much like yours by your description; and I murdered my father as well as you, Will Atkins; but I think for all that my repentance is short of yours too, by a great deal.

I would have said more, if I could have restrained my passions; but I thought this poor man's repentance was so much sincerer than mine, that I was going to leave off the discourse and retire, for I was

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surprised with what he said, and thought that, instead of my going about to teach and instruct him, the man was a teacher and instructor to me, in a most surprising and unexpected manner.

I laid all this before the young clergyman, who was greatly affected with it, and said to me, "Did I not say, sir, that when this man was converted he would preach to us all? I tell you, sir, if this one man be made a true penitent, here will be no need of me; he will make Christians of all in the island." But having a little composed myself, I renewed my discourse with Will Atkins.

"But, Will," said I, "how comes the sense of this matter to touch you just now?"

W. A. Sir, you have set me about a work that has struck a dart through my very soul. I have been talking about God and religion to my wife, in order, as you directed me, to make a Christian of her; and she has preached such a sermon to me as I shall never forget while I live.

R. C. No, no; it is not your wife has preached to you; but when you were moving religious arguments to her, conscience has flung them back upon you.

W. A. Ay, sir, with such a force as is not to be resisted.

R. C. Pray, Will, let us know what passed between you and your wife, for I know something of it already.

W. A. Sir, it is impossible to give you a full account of it. I am too full to hold it, and yet have no tongue to express it; but let her have said what she will, and though I cannot give you an account of it, this I can tell you of it, that I resolve to amend and reform my life.

R. C. But tell us some of it. How did you begin, Will? for this has been an extraordinary case, that's certain; she has preached a sermon indeed, if she has wrought this upon you.

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W. A. Why, I first told her the nature of our laws about marriage, and what the reasons were that men and women were obliged to enter into such compacts as it was neither in the power of one or other to break; that otherwise, order and justice could not be maintained, and men would run from their wives and abandon their children, mix confusedly with one another, and neither families be kept entire, or inheritances be settled by legal descent.

R. C. You talk like a civilian, Will. Could you make her understand what you meant by inheritance and families? They know no such thing among the savages, but marry anyhow, without regard to relation, consanguinity, or family; brother and sister, nay, as I have been told, even the father and daughter, and the son and the mother.

W. A. I believe, sir, you are misinformed; and my wife assures me of the contrary, and that they abhor it. Perhaps for any farther relations they may not be so exact as we are, but she tells me they never touch one another in the near relations you speak of.

R. C. Well, what did she say to what you told her?

W. A. She said she liked it very well, and it was much better than in her country.

R. C. But did you tell her what marriage was?

W. A. Ay, ay; there began all our dialogue. I asked her if she would be married to me our way? She asked me what way that was? I told marriage was appointed by God; and here we had a strange talk together indeed, as ever man and wife had, I believe.

[*N. B.* — This dialogue between W. Atkins and his wife, as I took it down in writing, just after he told it me, was as follows.]

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Wife. Appointed by your God! Why, have you a God in your country?

W. A. Yes, my dear, God is in every country.

Wife. No you God in my country; my country have the great old Benamuckee God.

W. A. Child, I am very unfit to show you who God is. God is in heaven, and made the heaven and the earth, the sea, and all that in them is.

Wife. No makee de earth; no you God make all earth, no make my country.

[W. A. laughed a little at her expression of God not making her country.]

Wife. No laugh; why laugh me? This no thing to laugh.

[He was justly reproved by his wife, for she was more serious than he at first.]

W. A. That's true, indeed; I will not laugh any more, my dear.

Wife. Why you say, you God make all?

W. A. Yes, child, our God made the whole world, and you, and me, and all things; for He is the only true God; there is no God but Him; He lives for ever in heaven.

Wife. Why you no tell me long ago?

W. A. That's true, indeed; but I have been a wicked wretch, and have not only forgotten to acquaint thee with anything before, but have lived without God in the world myself.

Wife. What, have you de great God in you country, you no know Him? No say O to Him? No do good thing for Him? That no possible!

W. A. It is too true though, for all that; we live as if there was no God in heaven, or that He had no power on earth.

Wife. But why God let you do so? Why He no makee you good live?

W. A. It is all our own fault.

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Wife. But you say me He is great, much great, have much great power; can makee kill when He will. Why He no makee kill when you no serve Him, no say O to Him, no be good mans?

W. A. That is true. He might strike me dead, and I ought to expect it; for I have been a wicked wretch, that is true; but God is merciful, and does not deal with us as we deserve.

Wife. But then, do not you tell God tankee for that too?

W. A. No, indeed; I have not thanked God for His mercy, any more than I have feared God for His power.

Wife. Then you God no God; me no think, believe, He be such one, great, much power, strong; no makee kill you, though you makee Him much angry.

W. A. What! will my wicked life hinder you from believing in God? What a dreadful creature am I; and what a sad truth is it, that the horrid lives of Christians hinders the conversion of heathens!

Wife. How me tink you have great much God [*she points up to heaven*] up there and yet no do well, no do good thing? Can He tell? Sure He no tell what you do?

W. A. Yes, yes, He knows and sees all things; He hears us speak, sees what we do, knows what we think, though we do not speak.

Wife. What! He no hear you swear, curse, speak the great damn?

W. A. Yes, yes, He hears it all.

Wife. Where be then the muchee great power strong?

W. A. He is merciful, that's all we can say for it; and this proves Him to be the true God. He is God, and not man; and therefore we are not consumed.

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[Here Will Atkins told us he was struck with horror to think how he could tell his wife so clearly that God sees, and hears, and knows the secret thoughts of the heart, and all that we do, and yet that he had dared to do all the vile things he had done.]

Wife. Merciful! what you call that?

W. A. He is our Father and Maker, and He pities and spares us.

Wife. So then He never makee kill, never angry when you do wicked; then He no good Himself, or no great able.

W. A. Yes, yes, my dear; He is infinitely good, and infinitely great, and able to punish too; and sometimes, to show His justice and vengeance, He lets fly His anger to destroy sinners, and make examples; many are cut off in their sins.

Wife. But no make kill you yet; then He tell you, may be, that He no make you kill, so you make de bargain with Him, you do bad thing, He no be angry at you, when He be angry at other mans?

W. A. No, indeed, my sins are all presumptions upon His goodness; and He would be infinitely just if He destroyed me, as He has done other men.

Wife. Well, and yet no kill, no makee you dead; what you say to Him for that? You no tell Him tankee for all that too?

W. A. I am an unthankful, ungrateful dog, that 's true.

Wife. Why He no makee you much good better? You say He makee you.

W. A. He made me as He made all the world; 't is I have deformed myself, and abused His goodness, and made myself an abominable wretch.

Wife. I wish you makee God know me; I no makee Him angry; I no do bad wicked thing.

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[Here Will Atkins said his heart sunk within him to hear a poor, untaught creature desire to be taught to know God, and he such a wicked wretch that he could not say one word to her about God but what the reproach of his own carriage would make most irrational to her to believe; nay, that already she had told him that she could not believe in God, because he that was so wicked was not destroyed.]

W. A. My dear, you mean you wish I could teach you to know God, not God to know you? for He knows you already, and every thought in your heart.

Wife. Why then He know what I say to you now? He know me wish to know Him; how shall me know who makee me?

W. A. Poor creature, He must teach thee, I cannot teach thee; I 'll pray to Him to teach thee to know Him, and to forgive me that I am unworthy to teach thee.

[The poor fellow was in such an agony at her desiring him to make her know God, and her wishing to know Him, that he said he fell down on his knees before her, and prayed to God to enlighten her mind with the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ, and to pardon his sins, and accept of his being the unworthy instrument of instructing her in the principles of religion; after which he sat down by her again, and their dialogue went on. *N.B.* — This was the time when we saw him kneel down and lift up his hands.]

Wife. What you put down the knee for? What you hold up the hand for? What you say? Who you speak to? What is all that?

W. A. My dear, I bow my knees in token of my submission to Him that made me; I said O to Him, as you call it, and as you say your old men do to their idol Benamuckee; that is, I prayed to Him.

Wife. What you say O to Him for?

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W. A. I prayed to Him to open your eyes and your understanding, that you may know Him, and be accepted by Him.

Wife. Can He do that too?

W. A. Yes, He can; He can do all things.

Wife. But now He hear what you say?

W. A. Yes; He has bid us pray to Him, and promised to hear us.

Wife. Bid you pray? When He bid you? How He bid you? What, you hear Him speak?

W. A. No, we do not hear Him speak; but He has revealed Himself many ways to us.

[Here he was at a great loss to make her understand that God has revealed Himself to us by His Word; and what His Word was; but at last he told it her thus.]

W. A. God has spoken to some good men in former days, even from heaven, by plain words; and God has inspired good men by His Spirit, and they have written all His laws down in a book.

Wife. Me no understand that; where is book?

W. A. Alas, my poor creature, I have not this book! but I hope I shall, one time or other, get it for you, and help you to read it.

[Here he embraced her with great affection; but with inexpressible grief that he had not a Bible.]

Wife. But how you makee me know that God teachee them to write that book?

W. A. By the same rule that we know Him to be God.

Wife. What rule? what way you know Him?

W. A. Because He teaches and commands nothing but what is good, righteous, and holy, and tends to make us perfectly good, as well as perfectly happy; and because He forbids, and commands us to avoid, all that is wicked, that is evil in itself, or evil in its consequences.

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Wife. That mè would understand, that me fain see; if He teachee all good thing, forbid all wicked thing, He reward all good thing, punish all wicked thing, He make all thing, He give all thing; He hear me when I say O to Him, as you go do just now; He makee me good if I wish be good; He spare me, no makee kill me when I no be good; all this you say He do; yet He be great God; me take, think, believe him be great God; me say O to Him too with you, my dear.

Here the poor man could forbear no longer; but raising her up, made her kneel by him; and he prayed to God aloud to instruct her in the knowledge of Himself by His Spirit; and that by some good providence, if possible, she might some time or other come to have a Bible, that she might read the Word of God, and be taught by it to know Him.

This was the time that we saw him lift her up by the hand, and saw him kneel down by her, as above.

They had several other discourses, it seems, after this, too long to set down here; and particularly she made him promise, that since he confessed his own life had been a wicked abominable course of provocation against God, that he would reform it, and not make God angry any more, lest he should make him dead, as she called it, and then she should be left alone, and never be taught to know this God better; and lest he should be miserable, as he had told her wicked men should be after death.

This was a strange account, and very affecting to us both, but particularly to the young clergyman. He was indeed wonderfully surprised with it, but under the greatest affliction imaginable that he could not talk to her; that he could not speak English to make her understand him, and as she spoke but very broken English, he could not understand her. However, he turned himself to me, and

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told me that he believed there must be more to do with this woman than to marry her. I did not understand him at first, but at length he explained himself, viz., that she ought to be baptized.

I agreed with him in that part readily, and was for going about it presently. "No, no; hold, sir," said he; "though I would have her be baptized by all means, yet I must observe that Will Atkins, her husband, has indeed brought her, in a wonderful manner, to be willing to embrace a religious life; and has given her just ideas of the being of a God, of His power, justice, mercy; yet I desire to know of him if he has said anything to her of Jesus Christ, and of the salvation of sinners; of the nature of faith in Him, and redemption by Him; of the Holy Spirit, the resurrection, the last judgment, and a future state."

I called Will Atkins again, and asked him; but the poor fellow fell immediately into tears, and told us he had said something to her of all those things, but that he was himself so wicked a creature, and his own conscience so reproached him with his horrid ungodly life, that he trembled at the apprehensions that her knowledge of him should lessen the attention she should give to those things, and make her rather contemn religion than receive it; but he was assured, he said, that her mind was so disposed to receive due impressions of all those things, that if I would but discourse with her, she would make it appear to my satisfaction that my labour would not be lost upon her.

Accordingly I called her in, and placing myself as interpreter between my religious priest and the woman, I entreated him to begin with her. But sure such a sermon was never preached by a Popish priest in these latter ages of the world; and as I told him, I thought he had all the zeal, all the knowledge,

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all the sincerity of a Christian, without the error of a Roman Catholic; and that I took him to be such a clergyman as the Roman bishops were before the Church of Rome assumed spiritual sovereignty over the consciences of men.

In a word, he brought the poor woman to embrace the knowledge of Christ, and of redemption by Him, not with wonder and astonishment only, as she did the first notions of a God, but with joy and faith, with an affection, and a surprising degree of understanding, scarce to be imagined, much less to be expressed; and at her own request she was baptized.

When he was preparing to baptize her, I entreated him that he would perform that office with some caution, that the man might not perceive he was of the Roman Church, if possible, because of other ill consequences which might attend a difference among us in that very religion which we were instructing the other in. He told me that as he had no consecrated chapel, no proper things for the office, I should see he would do it in a manner that I should not know by it that he was a Roman Catholic myself if I had not known it before. And so he did; for saying only some words over to himself in Latin, which I could not understand, he poured a whole dishful of water upon the woman's head, pronouncing in French very loud, "Mary," — which was the name her husband desired me to give her, for I was her godfather — "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;" so that none could know anything by it what religion he was of. He gave the benediction afterwards in Latin; but either Will Atkins did not know but it was in French, or else did not take notice of it at that time.

As soon as this was over, we married them; and after the marriage was over, he turned himself to

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Will Atkins, and in a very affectionate manner exhorted him not only to persevere in that good disposition he was in, but to support the convictions that were upon him by a resolution to reform his life; told him it was in vain to say he repented if he did not forsake his crimes; represented to him how God had honoured him with being the instrument of bringing his wife to the knowledge of the Christian religion, and that he should be careful he did not dishonour the grace of God; and that if he did, he would see the heathen a better Christian than himself; the savage converted, and the instrument cast away.

He said a great many good things to them both, and then recommending them, in a few words, to God's goodness, gave them the benediction again, I repeating everything to them in English, and thus ended the ceremony. I think it was the most pleasant, agreeable day to me that ever I passed in my whole life.

But my clergyman had not done yet. His thoughts hung continually upon the conversion of the seven and thirty savages, and fain he would have stayed upon the island to have undertaken it; but I convinced him, first, that his undertaking was impracticable in itself; and secondly, that, perhaps, I would put it into a way of being done, in his absence, to his satisfaction; of which by-and-by.

Having thus brought the affair of the island to a narrow compass, I was preparing to go on board the ship when the young man, whom I had taken out of the famished ship's company, came to me, and told me he understood I had a clergyman with me, and that I caused the Englishmen to be married to the savages whom they called wives; that he had a match too which he desired might be finished before I went, between two Christians, which he hoped would not be disagreeable to me.

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I knew this must be the young woman who was his mother's servant, for there was no other Christian woman on the island. So I began to persuade him not to do anything of that kind rashly, or because he found himself in this solitary circumstance. I represented to him that he had some considerable substance in the world, and good friends, as I understood by himself, and by his maid also; that his maid was not only poor, and a servant, but was unequal to him, she being six or seven and twenty years old, and he not above seventeen or eighteen; that he might very probably, with my assistance, make a remove from this wilderness, and come into his own country again, and that then it would be a thousand to one but he would repent his choice, and the dislike of that circumstance might be disadvantageous to both. I was going to say more, but he interrupted me, smiling, and told me, with a great deal of modesty, that I mistook in my guesses; that he had nothing of that kind in his thoughts, his present circumstance being melancholy and disconsolate enough; and he was very glad to hear that I had thoughts of putting them in a way to see their country again; and nothing should have put him upon staying there but that the voyage I was going was so exceeding long and hazardous, and would carry him quite out of the reach of all his friends; that he had nothing to desire of me but that I would settle him in some little property in the island where he was, give him a servant or two, and some few necessaries, and he would settle himself here like a planter, waiting the good time when, if ever I returned to England, I would redeem him, and hoped I would not be unmindful of him when I came into England; that he would give me some letters to his friends in London, to let them know how good I had been to him, and in what part of

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the world, and what circumstance I had left him in; that he promised me that whenever I redeemed him, the plantation, and all the improvement he had made upon it, let the value be what it would, should be wholly mine.

His discourse was very prettily delivered considering his youth, and was the more agreeable to me because he told me positively the match was not for himself. I gave him all possible assurances that, if I lived to come safe to England, I would deliver his letters, and do his business effectually, and that he might depend I would never forget the circumstance I had left him in. But still I was impatient to know who were the persons to be married; upon which he told me it was my Jack-of-all-trades and his maid Susan.

I was most agreeably surprised when he named the match, for indeed I thought it very suitable. The character of that man I have given already; and as for the maid, she was a very honest, modest, sober, and religious young woman; had a very good share of sense; was agreeable enough in her person; spoke very handsomely, and to the purpose; always with decency and good manners, and not backward to speak when anything required it, or impertinently forward to speak when it was not her business; very handy and housewifely in anything that was before her; an excellent manager, and fit indeed to have been governess to the whole island. She knew very well how to behave to all kind of folks she had about her, and to better if she had found any there.

The match being proposed in this manner, we married them the same day; and as I was father at the altar, as I may say, and gave her away, so I gave her a portion, for I appointed her and her husband a handsome large space of ground for their planta-

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tion; and indeed this match, and the proposal the young gentleman made, to give him a small property in the island, put me upon parcelling it out amongst them, that they might not quarrel afterwards about their situation.

This sharing out the land to them I left to Will Atkins, who indeed was now grown a most sober, grave, managing fellow, perfectly reformed, exceeding pious and religious, and as far as I may be allowed to speak positively in such a case, I verily believe was a true sincere penitent.

He divided things so justly, and so much to every one's satisfaction, that they only desired one general writing under my hand for the whole, which I caused to be drawn up and signed and sealed to them, setting out the bounds and situation of every man's plantation, and testifying that I gave them thereby, severally, a right to the whole possession and inheritance of the respective plantations or farms, with their improvements, to them and their heirs; reserving all the rest of the island as my own property, and a certain rent for every particular plantation after eleven years, as I or any one from me, or in my name, came to demand it, producing an attested copy of the same writing.

As to the government and laws among them, I told them I was not capable of giving them better rules than they were able to give themselves; only made them promise me to live in love and good neighbourhood with one another; and so I prepared to leave them.

One thing I must not omit, and this is, that being now settled in a kind of commonwealth among themselves, and having much business in hand, it was but odd to have seven and thirty Indians live in a nook of the island, independent, and indeed unemployed; for excepting the providing themselves food,

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which they had difficulty enough in too, sometimes, they had no manner of business or property to manage. I proposed therefore to the governor Spaniard that he should go to them with Friday's father, and propose to them to remove, and either plant for themselves, or take them into their several families as servants, to be maintained for their labour, but without being absolute slaves; for I would not admit them to make them slaves by force by any means, because they had their liberty given them by capitulation, and as it were, articles of surrender, which they ought not to break.

They most willingly embraced the proposal, and came all very cheerfully along with him; so we allotted them land and plantations, which three or four accepted of, but all the rest chose to be employed as servants in the several families we had settled; and thus my colony was in a manner settled as follows: — The Spaniards possessed my original habitation, which was the capital city, and extended their plantations all along the side of the brook, which made the creek that I have so often described, as far as my bower; and as they increased their culture, it went always eastward. The English lived in the north-east part, where Will Atkins and his comrades began, and came on southward and south-west, towards the back part of the Spaniards; and every plantation had a great addition of land to take in if they found occasion, so that they need not jostle one another for want of room.

All the east end of the island was left uninhabited, that if any of the savages should come on shore there, only for their usual customary barbarities, they might come and go; if they disturbed nobody, nobody would disturb them; and no doubt but they were often ashore and went away again, for I never heard that the planters were attacked or disturbed any more.

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It now came into my thoughts that I had hinted to my friend the clergyman that the work of converting the savages might perhaps be set on foot in his absence to his satisfaction; and I told him that now I thought it was put in a fair way, for the savages being thus divided among the Christians, if they would but every one of them do their part with those which came under their hands, I hoped it might have a very good effect.

He agreed presently in that. "If," said he, "they will do their part; but how," says he, "shall we obtain that of them?" I told him we would call them together, and leave it in charge with them, or go to them one by one, which he thought best. So we divided it — he to speak to the Spaniards, who were all Papists, and I to the English, who were all Protestants; and we recommended it earnestly to them, and made them promise that they never would make any distinction of Papist or Protestant in their exhorting the savages to turn Christians, but teach them the general knowledge of the true God, and of their Saviour Jesus Christ; and they likewise promised us that they would never have any differences or disputes one with another about religion.

When I came to Will Atkins's house — I may call it so, for such a house, or such a piece of basket-work, I believe was not standing in the world again; I say when I came there, I found the young woman I have mentioned above and Will Atkins's wife were become intimates; and this prudent, religious young woman had perfected the work Will Atkins had begun; and though it was not above four days after what I have related, yet the new-baptized savage woman was made such a Christian as I have seldom heard of any like her in all my observation or conversation in the world.

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It came next into my mind in the morning, before I went to them, that amongst all the needful things I had to leave with them, I had not left them a Bible; in which I showed myself less considering for them than my good friend the widow was for me, when she sent me the cargo of a hundred pounds from Lisbon, where she packed up three Bibles and a prayer-book. However, the good woman's charity had a greater extent than ever she imagined, for they were reserved for the comfort and instruction of those that made much better use of them than I had done.

I took one of the Bibles in my pocket; and when I came to Will Atkins's tent, or house, and found the young woman and Atkins's baptized wife had been discoursing of religion together — for Will Atkins told it me with a great deal of joy — I asked if they were together now, and he said yes. So I went into the house, and he with me, and we found them together, very earnest in discourse. "O sir," says Will Atkins, "when God has sinners to reconcile to Himself, and aliens to bring home, He never wants a messenger; my wife has got a new instructor — I knew I was unworthy, as I was incapable of that work — that young woman has been sent hither from heaven — she is enough to convert a whole island of savages." The young woman blushed, and rose up to go away, but I desired her to sit still. I told her she had a good work upon her hands, and I hoped God would bless her in it.

We talked a little, and I did not perceive they had any book among them, though I did not ask; but I put my hand in my pocket and pulled out my Bible. "Here," says I to Atkins, "I have brought you an assistant that perhaps you had not before." The man was so confounded, that he was not able to speak for some time; but recovering himself, he

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takes it with both his hands, and turning to his wife, "Here, my dear," says he, "did not I tell you our God, though He lives above, could hear what we said? Here 's the book I prayed for when you and I kneeled down under the bush; now God has heard us, and sent it." When he had said so, the man fell into such transports of a passionate joy, that between the joy of having it, and giving God thanks for it, the tears ran down his face like a child that was crying.

The woman was surprised, and was like to have run into a mistake that none of us were aware of; for she firmly believed God had sent the book upon her husband's petition. It is true that providentially it was so, and might be taken so in a consequent sense; but I believe it would have been no difficult matter at that time to have persuaded the poor woman to have believed that an express messenger came from heaven on purpose to bring that individual book. But it was too serious a matter to suffer any delusion to take place; so I turned to the young woman, and told her we did not desire to impose upon the new convert in her first and more ignorant understanding of things, and begged her to explain to her that God may be very properly said to answer our petitions when in the course of His providence such things are in a particular manner brought to pass as we petitioned for; but we do not expect returns from heaven in a miraculous and particular manner; and that it is our mercy that it is not so.

This the young woman did afterwards effectually; so that there was, I assure you, no priestcraft used here; and I should have thought it one of the most unjustifiable frauds in the world to have had it so. But the surprise of joy upon Will Atkins is really not to be expressed; and there we may be sure there was no delusion. Sure no man was ever more thank-

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ful in the world for anything of its kind than he was for his Bible; nor, I believe, never any man was glad of a Bible from a better principle. And though he had been a most profligate creature, desperate, headstrong, outrageous, furious, and wicked to a great degree, yet this man is a standing rule to us all for the well instructing children, viz., that parents should never give over to teach and instruct, or ever despair of the success of their endeavours, let the children be ever so obstinate, refractory, or to appearance insensible of instruction; for if ever God in His providence touches the consciences of such, the force of their education returns upon them, and the early instruction of parents is not lost, though it may have been many years laid asleep, but some time or other they may find the benefit of it.

Thus it was with this poor man; however ignorant he was, or divested of religion and Christian knowledge, he found he had some to do with now more ignorant than himself, and that the least part of the instruction of his good father that could now come to his mind was of use to him.

Among the rest it occurred to him, he said, how his father used to insist much upon the inexpressible value of the Bible, the privilege and blessing of it to nations, families, and persons; but he never entertained the least notion of the worth of it till now, when being to talk to heathens, savages, and barbarians, he wanted the help of the written oracle for his assistance.

The young woman was very glad of it also for the present occasion, though she had one, and so had the youth, on board our ship among their goods, which were not yet brought on shore. And now, having said so many things of this young woman, I cannot omit telling one story more of her and myself, which has something in it very informing and remarkable.

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I have related to what extremity the poor young woman was reduced; how her mistress was starved to death, and did die on board that unhappy ship we met at sea; and how the whole ship's company being reduced to the last extremity, the gentlewoman and her son, and this maid, were first hardly used as to provisions, and at last totally neglected and starved; that is to say, brought to the last extremity of hunger.

One day being discoursing with her upon the extremities they suffered, I asked her if she could describe by what she had felt what it was to starve, and how it appeared? She told me she believed she could, and she told her tale very distinctly thus: —

"First, sir," said she, "we had for some days fared exceeding hard, and suffered very great hunger, but now at last we were wholly without food of any kind except sugar, and a little wine, and a little water. The first day after I had received no food at all, I found myself towards evening first empty and sickish at my stomach, and nearer night mightily inclined to yawning, and sleepy. I laid down on a couch in the great cabin to sleep, and slept about three hours, and awaked a little refreshed, having taken a glass of wine when I lay down. After being about three hours awake, it being about five o'clock in the morning, I found myself empty, and my stomach sickish, and laid down again, but could not sleep at all, being very faint and ill; and thus I continued all the second day, with a strange variety — first hungry, then sick again, with reachings to vomit. The second night, being obliged to go to bed again without any food more than a draught of fair water, and being asleep, I dreamed I was at Barbadoes, and that the market was mightily stocked with provisions, that I bought some for my mistress, and went and dined very heartily.

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"I thought my stomach was as full after this as any would have been after or at a good dinner; but when I waked, I was exceedingly sunk in my spirits to find myself in the extremity of famine. The last glass of wine we had I drank, and put sugar in it, because of its having some spirit to supply nourishment; but there being no substance in the stomach for the digesting office to work upon, I found the only effect of the wine was to raise disagreeable fumes from the stomach into the head; and I lay, as they told me, stupid and senseless, as one drunk, for some time.

"The third day, in the morning, after a night of strange and confused inconsistent dreams, and rather dozing than sleeping, I waked, ravenous and furious with hunger; and I question, had not my understanding returned and conquered it, I say, I question whether, if I had been a mother, and had had a little child with me, its life would have been safe or not. This lasted about three hours, during which time I was twice raging mad as any creature in Bedlam, as my young master told me, and as he can now inform you.

"In one of these fits of lunacy or distraction, whether by the motion of the ship or some slip of my foot I know not, I fell down, and struck my face against the corner of a pallet bed, in which my mistress lay, and with the blow the blood gushed out of my nose, and the cabin-boy bringing me a little basin, I sat down and bled into it a great deal, and as the blood ran from me I came to myself, and the violence of the flame or the fever I was in abated, and so did the ravenous part of the hunger.

"Then I grew sick and reached to vomit, but could not, for I had nothing in my stomach to bring up. After I had bled some time I swooned, and they all believed I was dead; but I came to myself

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soon after, and then had a most dreadful pain in my stomach, not to be described, not like the colic, but a gnawing, eager pain for food; and towards night it went off with a kind of earnest wishing or longing for food, something like, as I suppose, the longing of a woman with child. I took another draught of water with sugar in it, but my stomach loathed the sugar, and brought it all up again; then I took a draught of water without sugar, and that stayed with me, and I laid me down upon the bed, praying most heartily that it would please God to take me away; and composing my mind in hopes of it, I slumbered awhile; and then waking, thought myself dying, being light with vapours from an empty stomach. I recommended my soul then to God, and earnestly wished that somebody would throw me into the sea.

"All this while my mistress lay by me just, as I thought, expiring, but bore it with much more patience than I, and gave the last bit of bread she had left to her child, my young master, who would not have taken it, but she obliged him to eat it; and I believe it saved his life.

"Towards the morning I slept again, and first when I awaked I fell into a violent passion of crying, and after that had a second fit of violent hunger. I got up ravenous, and in a most dreadful condition. Had my mistress been dead, as much as I loved her I am certain I should have eaten a piece of her flesh with as much relish, and as unconcerned, as ever I did the flesh of any creature appointed for food; and once or twice I was going to bite my own arm. At last I saw the basin in which was the blood I had bled at my nose the day before. I ran to it, and swallowed it with such haste, and such a greedy appetite, as if I had wondered nobody had taken it before, and afraid it would be taken from me now.

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"Though after it was down the thoughts of it filled me with horror, yet it checked the fit of hunger, and I drank a draught of fair water, and was composed and refreshed for some hours after it. This was the fourth day; and thus I held it till towards night, when, within the compass of three hours, I had all these several circumstances over again, one after another, viz., sick, sleepy, eagerly hungry, pain in the stomach, then ravenous again, then sick again, then lunatic, then crying, then ravenous again, and so every quarter of an hour; and my strength wasted exceedingly. At night I laid me down, having no comfort but in the hope that I should die before morning.

"All this night I had no sleep; but the hunger was now turned into a disease, and I had a terrible colic and griping by wind instead of food having found its way into the bowels; and in this condition I lay till morning, when I was surprised a little with the cries and lamentations of my young master, who called out to me that his mother was dead. I lifted myself up a little, for I had not strength to rise, but found she was not dead, though she was able to give very little signs of life.

"I had then such convulsions in my stomach for want of some sustenance, that I cannot describe, with such frequent throes and pangs of appetite that nothing but the tortures of death can imitate; and in this condition I was when I heard the seamen above cry out 'A sail! a sail!' and halloo and jump about as if they were distracted.

"I was not able to get off from the bed, and my mistress much less, and my young master was so sick that I thought he had been expiring; so we could not open the cabin-door, or get any account what it was that occasioned such a combustion; nor had we had any conversation with the ship's company for

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two days, they having told us that they had not a mouthful of anything to eat in the ship; and they told us afterwards they thought we had been dead.

"It was this dreadful condition we were in when you were sent to save our lives; and how you found us, sir, you know as well as I, and better too."

This was her own relation, and is such a distinct account of starving to death as I confess I never met with, and was exceeding entertaining to me. I am the rather apt to believe it to be a true account, because the youth gave me an account of a good part of it; though I must own not so distinct and so feelingly as his maid, and the rather because it seems his mother fed him at the price of her own life; but the poor maid, though her constitution being stronger than that of her mistress, who was in years, and a weakly woman too, she might struggle harder with it; I say, the poor maid might be supposed to feel the extremity something sooner than her mistress, who might be allowed to keep the last bit something longer than she parted with any to relieve the maid. No question, as the case is here related, if our ship, or some other, had not so providentially met them, a few days more would have ended all their lives, unless they had prevented it by eating one another; and even that, as their case stood, would have served them but a little while, they being five hundred leagues from any land, or any possibility of relief, other than in the miraculous manner it happened. But this is by the way; I return to my disposition of things among the people.

And first, it is to be observed here, that for many reasons I did not think fit to let them know anything of the sloop I had framed, and which I thought of setting up among them; for I found, at least at

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my first coming, such seeds of divisions among them, that I saw it plainly had I set up the sloop, and left it among them, they would, upon every light disgust, have separated, and gone away from one another; or perhaps have turned pirates, and so made the island a den of thieves, instead of a plantation of sober and religious people, so as I intended it; nor did I leave the two pieces of brass cannon that I had on board, or the two quarter-deck guns that my nephew took extraordinarily, for the same reason. I thought it was enough to qualify them for a defensive war against any that should invade them, but not to set them up for an offensive war, or to encourage them to go abroad to attack others, which, in the end, would only bring ruin and destruction upon themselves and all their undertaking. I reserved the sloop, therefore, and the guns for their service another way, as I shall observe in its place.

I have now done with the island. I left them all in good circumstances, and in a flourishing condition, and went on board my ship again the [fifth day] of [May], having been five and twenty days among them; and as they were all resolved to stay upon the island till I came to remove them, I promised to send some farther relief from the Brazils, if I could possibly find an opportunity; and particularly, I promised to send them some cattle, such as sheep, hogs, and cows; for as to the two cows and calves which I brought from England, we had been obliged, by the length of our voyage, to kill them at sea for want of hay to feed them.

The next day, giving them a salute of five guns at parting, we set sail, and arrived at the Bay of All Saints, in the Brazils, in about twenty-two days, meeting nothing remarkable in our passage but this, that about three days after we sailed, being be-

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calmed, and the current setting strong to the E.N.E., running, as it were, into a bay or gulf on the land side, we were driven something out of our course; and once or twice our men cried land to the eastward; but whether it was the continent, or islands, we could not tell by any means.

But the third day, towards evening, the sea smooth and the weather calm, we saw the sea, as it were covered towards the land with something very black; not being able to discover what it was till, after some time, our chief mate going up the main shrouds a little way, and looking at them with a perspective, cried out it was an army. I could not imagine what he meant by an army, and spoke a little hastily, calling the fellow a fool, or some such word. "Nay, sir," says he, "don't be angry, for 't is an army, and a fleet too; for I believe there are a thousand canoes, and you may see them paddle along, and they are coming towards us too, apace."

I was a little surprised then, indeed, and so was my nephew, the captain; for he had heard such terrible stories of them in the island, and having never been in those seas before, that he could not tell what to think of it, but said two or three times we should all be devoured. I must confess, considering we were becalmed, and the current set strong towards the shore, I liked it the worse. However, I bade him not be afraid, but bring the ship to an anchor as soon as we came so near to know that we must engage them.

The weather continued calm, and they came on apace towards us; so I gave order to come to an anchor, and furl all our sails. As for the savages, I told them they had nothing to fear but fire; and therefore they should get their boats out, and fasten them, one close by the head, and the other by the stern, and man them both well, and wait the issue

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in that posture.. This I did, that the men in the boats might be ready, with skeets and buckets, to put out any fire these savages might endeavour to fix to the outside of the ship. In this posture we lay by for them, and in a little while they came up with us; but never was such a horrid sight seen by Christians. My mate was much mistaken in his calculation of their number, I mean of a thousand canoes, the most we could make of them when they came up being about a hundred and six and twenty; and a great many of them too; for some of them had sixteen or seventeen men in them, and some more, and the least six or seven.

When they came nearer to us they seemed to be struck with wonder and astonishment, as at a sight which they had, doubtless, never seen before; nor could they at first, as we afterwards understood, know what to make of us. They came boldly up, however, very near to us, and seemed to go about to row round us; but we called to our men in the boats not to let them come too near them.

This very order brought us to an engagement with them, without our designing it; for five or six of their large canoes came so near our longboat, that our men beckoned with their hands to them to keep back, which they understood very well, and went back; but at their retreat about fifty arrows came on board us from those boats, and one of our men in the longboat was very much wounded.

However, I called to them not to fire by any means; but we handed down some deal boards into the boat, and the carpenters presently set up a kind of fence, like waist boards, to cover them from the arrows of the savages, if they should shoot again.

About half-an-hour afterwards they came all up in a body astern of us, and pretty near us, so near that we could easily discern what they were, though

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we could not tell their design; and I easily found they were some of my old friends, the same sort of savages that I had been used to engage with; and in a little time more they rowed a little farther out to sea, till they came directly broadside with us, and then rowed down straight upon us, till they came so near, that they could hear us speak. Upon this I ordered all my men to keep close, less they should shoot any more arrows, and made all our guns ready; but being so near as to be within hearing, I made Friday go out upon the deck and call out aloud to them in his language to know what they meant, which accordingly he did. Whether they understood him or not, that I knew not; but as soon as he had called to them, six of them, who were in the foremost or nighest boat to us, turned their canoes from us, and stooping down, showed us their naked backsides; just as if, in English, saving your presence, they had bid us kiss ——. Whether this was a defiance or challenge, we know not; or whether it was done in mere contempt, or as a signal to the rest; but immediately Friday cried out they were going to shoot; and unhappily for him, poor fellow, they let fly about three hundred of their arrows, and to my inexpressible grief killed poor Friday, no other man being in their sight. The poor fellow was shot with no less than three arrows, and about three more fell very near him; such unlucky marksmen they were.

I was so enraged with the loss of my old servant, the companion of all my sorrows and solitudes, that I immediately ordered five guns to be loaded with small shot, and four with great, and gave them such a broadside as they had never heard in their lives before, to be sure. They were not above half a cable length off when we fired; and our gunners took their aim so well, that three or four of their

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canoes were overset, as we had reason to believe, by one shot only.

The ill manners of turning up their bare backsides to us, gave us no great offence; neither did I know for certain whether that, which would pass for the greatest contempt among us, might be understood so by them or not; therefore in return I had only resolved to have fired four or five guns at them with powder only, which I knew would fright them sufficiently; but when they shot at us directly with all the fury they were capable of, and especially as they had killed my poor Friday, whom I so entirely loved and valued, and who, indeed, so well deserved it, I not only had been justified before God and man, but would have been very glad, if I could, to have overset every canoe there, and drowned every one of them.

I can neither tell how many we killed, or how many we wounded, at this broadside; but sure such a fright and hurry never was seen among such a multitude. There were thirteen or fourteen of their canoes split and overset, in all, and the men all set a-swimming; the rest, frighted out of their wits, scoured away as fast as they could, taking but little care to save those whose boats were split or spoiled with our shot. So I suppose that they were many of them lost; and our men took one poor fellow swimming for his life above an hour after they were all gone.

Our small shot from our cannon must needs kill and wound a great many; but, in short, we never knew anything how it went with them; for they fled so fast, that in three hours, or thereabouts, we could not see above three or four straggling canoes; nor did we ever see the rest any more; for a breeze of wind springing up the same evening, we weighed and set sail for the Brazils.

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We had a prisoner indeed, but the creature was so sullen, that he would neither eat or speak; and we all fancied he would starve himself to death. But I took a way to cure him; for I made them take him and turn him into the longboat, and made him believe they would toss him into the sea again, and so leave him where they found him if he would not speak. Nor would that do; but they really did throw him into the sea, and came away from him; and then he followed them, for he swam like a cork, and called to them in his tongue, though they knew not one word of what he said. However, at last they took him in again, and then he began to be more tractable; nor did I ever design they should drown him.

We were now under sail again; but I was the most disconsolate creature alive, for want of my man Friday, and would have been very glad to have gone back to the island to have taken one of the rest from thence for my occasion, but it could not be; so we went on. We had one prisoner, as I have said; and 't was a long while before we could make him understand anything; but in time our men taught him some English, and he began to be a little tractable. Afterwards we inquired what country he came from, but could make nothing of what he said; for his speech was so odd, all gutturals, and spoke in the throat in such a hollow odd manner, that we could never form a word from him; and we were all of opinion that they might speak that language as well if they were gagged as otherwise; nor could we perceive that they had any occasion either for teeth, tongue, lips, or palate, but formed their words just as a hunting-horn forms a tune with an open throat. He told us, however, some time after, when we taught him to speak a little English, that they were going, with their kings, to fight a great battle.

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When he said kings, we asked him how many kings? He said they were five nation (we could not make him understand the plural *s*), and that they all joined to go against two nation. We asked him what made them come up to us? He said, "To makee to great wonder look." Where it is to be observed, that all those natives, as also those of Africa, when they learn English, they always add two *e*'s at the end of the words where we use one, and make the accent upon them, as *makèè*, *takèè*, and the like; and we could not break them off it; nay, I could hardly make Friday leave it off, though at last he did.

And now I name the poor fellow once more, I must take my last leave of him, poor honest Friday! We buried him with all the decency and solemnity possible, by putting him into a coffin, and throwing him into the sea; and I caused them to fire eleven guns for him; and so ended the life of the most grateful, faithful, honest, and most affectionate servant that ever man had.

We went now away with a fair wind for Brazil, and in about twelve days' time we made land in the latitude of five degrees south of the line, being the north-easternmost land of all that part of America. We kept on S. by E. in sight of the shore four days, when we made Cape St. Augustine, and in three days came to an anchor off of the Bay of All Saints, the old place of my deliverance, from whence came both my good and evil fate.

Never ship came to this part that had less business than I had, and yet it was with great difficulty that we were admitted to hold the least correspondence on shore. Not my planter himself, who was alive, and made a great figure among them, not my two merchant trustees, not the fame of my wonderful preservation in that island, could obtain me that favour; but my partner remembering that I had

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given five hundred moidores to the prior of the monastery of the Augustines, and two hundred and seventy-two to the poor, went to the monastery, and obliged the prior that then was to go to the governor and get leave for me personally, with the captain and one more, besides eight seamen, to come on shore, and no more; and this upon condition absolutely capitulated for, that we should not offer to land any goods out of the ship, or to carry any person away without licence.

They were so strict with us as to landing any goods, that it was with extreme difficulty that I got on shore three bales of English goods, such as fine broadcloths, stuffs, and some linen, which I had brought for a present to my partner.

He was a very generous, broad-hearted man, though, like me, he came from little at first; and though he knew not that I had the least design of giving him anything, he sent me on board a present of fresh provisions, wine, and sweetmeats, worth above thirty moidores, including some tobacco, and three or four fine medals in gold. But I was even with him in my present, which, as I have said, consisted of fine broadcloth, English stuffs, lace, and fine hollands. Also I delivered him about the value of £100 sterling, in the same goods, for other uses; and I obliged him to set up the sloop which I had brought with me from England, as I have said, for the use of my colony, in order to send the refreshments I intended to my plantation.

Accordingly he got hands, and finished the sloop in a very few days, for she was ready framed; and I gave the master of her such instructions as he could not miss the place; nor did he miss them, as I had an account from my partner afterwards. I got him soon loaded with the small cargo I sent them; and one of our seamen, that had been on shore with me

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there, offered to go with the sloop, and settle there, upon my letter to the governor Spaniard, to allot him a sufficient quantity of land for a plantation; and giving him some clothes, and tools for his planting work, which he said he understood, having been an old planter at Maryland, and a buccaneer into the bargain.

I encouraged the fellow by granting all he desired; and as an addition, I gave him the savage which we had taken prisoner of war to be his slave, and ordered the governor Spaniard to give him his share of everything he wanted, with the rest.

When we came to fit this man out, my old partner told me there was a certain very honest fellow, a Brazil planter of his acquaintance, who had fallen into the displeasure of the Church. "I know not what the matter is with him," says he, "but, on my conscience, I think he is a heretic in his heart, and he has been obliged to conceal himself for fear of the Inquisition;" that he would be very glad of such an opportunity to make his escape with his wife and two daughters; and if I would let them go to the island, and allot them a plantation, he would give them a small stock to begin with; for the officers of the Inquisition had seized all his effects and estate, and he had nothing left but a little household stuff, and two slaves. "And," adds he, "though I hate his principles, yet I would not have him fall into their hands, for he would assuredly be burnt alive if he does."

I granted this presently, and joined my Englishman with them; and we concealed the man and his wife and daughters on board our ship, till the sloop put out to go to sea; and then, having put all their goods on board the sloop some time before, we put them on board the sloop after he was got out of the bay.

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Our seaman was mightily pleased with this new partner; and their stock, indeed, was much alike, rich in tools, in preparations, and a farm; but nothing to begin with, but as above. However, they carried over with them, which was worth all the rest, some materials for planting sugar-canes, with some plants of canes; which he, I mean the Portugal man, understood very well.

Among the rest of the supplies sent my tenants in the island, I sent them by their sloop three milch cows and five calves, about twenty-two hogs, among them three sows big with pig, two mares, and a stone-horse.

For my Spaniards, according to my promise, I engaged three Portugal women to go; and recommended it to them to marry them, and use them kindly. I could have procured more women, but I remembered that the poor persecuted man had two daughters, and there was but five of the Spaniards that wanted; the rest had wives of their own, though in another country.

All this cargo arrived safe, and, as you may easily suppose, very welcome to my old inhabitants, who were now, with this addition, between sixty and seventy people, besides little children, of which there was a great many. I found letters at London from them all, by the way of Lisbon, when I came back to England, of which I shall also take some notice immediately.

I have now done with my island, and all manner of discourse about it; and whoever reads the rest of my memorandums, would do well to turn his thoughts entirely from it, and expect to read of the follies of an old man, not warned by his own harms, much less by those of other men, to beware of the like; not cooled by almost forty years' misery and disappointments, not satisfied with prosperity be-

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yond expectation, not made cautious by affliction and distress beyond imitation.

I had no more business to go to the East Indies than a man at full liberty, and having committed no crime, has to go to the turnkey at Newgate and desire him to lock him up among the prisoners there and starve him. Had I taken a small vessel from England, and went directly to the island; had I loaded her, as I did the other vessel, with all the necessaries for the plantation, and for my people; took a patent from the governor here to have secured my property, in subjection only to that of England; had I carried over cannon and ammunition, servants and people, to plant, and taking possession of the place, fortified and strengthened it in the name of England, and increased it with people, as I might easily have done; had I then settled myself there, and sent the ship back loaden with good rice, as I might also have done in six months' time, and ordered my friends to have fitted her out again for our supply; had I done this, and stayed there myself, I had at least acted like a man of common-sense. But I was possessed with a wandering spirit, scorned all advantages; I pleased myself with being the patron of those people I placed there, and doing for them in a kind of haughty majestic way, like an old patriarchal monarch; providing for them, as if I had been father of the whole family, as well as of the plantation. But I never so much as pretended to plant in the name of any government or nation, or to acknowledge any prince, or to call my people subjects to any one nation more than another; nay, I never so much as gave the place a name, but left it as I found it, belonging to no man, and the people under no discipline or government but my own, who, though I had influence over them as father and benefactor, had no authority or

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power to act or command one way or other, farther than voluntary consent moved them to comply. Yet even this, had I stayed there, would have done well enough; but as I rambled from them, and came there no more, the last letters I had from any of them was by my partner's means, who afterwards sent another sloop to the place, and who sent me word, though I had not the letter till five years after it was written, that they went on but poorly; were malcontent with their long stay there; that Will Atkins was dead; that five of the Spaniards were come away; and that though they had not been much molested by the savages, yet they had had some skirmishes with them; and that they begged of him to write to me to think of the promise I had made to fetch them away, that they might see their own country again before they died.

But I was gone a wild-goose chase indeed, and they that will have any more of me must be content to follow me through a new variety of follies, hardships, and wild adventures; wherein the justice of Providence may be duly observed, and we may see how easily Heaven can gorge us with our own desires, make the strongest of our wishes be our affliction, and punish us most severely with those very things which we think it would be our utmost happiness to be allowed in.

Let no wise man flatter himself with the strength of his own judgment, as if he was able to choose any particular station of life for himself. Man is a short-sighted creature, sees but a very little way before him; and as his passions are none of his best friends, so his particular affections are generally his worst counsellors.

I say this with respect to the impetuous desire I had from a youth to wander into the world, and how evident it now was that this principle was preserved in me for my punishment. How it came on, the

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manner, the circumstance, and the conclusion of it, it is easy to give you historically, and with its utmost variety of particulars; but the secret ends of Divine Power in thus permitting us to be hurried down the stream of our own desires, is only to be understood of those who can listen to the voice of Providence, and draw religious consequences from God's justice and their own mistakes.

Be it I had business, or no business, away I went. 'T is no time now to enlarge any farther upon the reason or absurdity of my own conduct; but to come to the history. I was embarked for the voyage, and the voyage I went.

I should only add here, that my honest and truly pious clergyman left me here; a ship being ready to go to Lisbon, he asked me leave to go thither, being still, as he observed, bound never to finish any voyage he began. How happy had it been for me if I had gone with him!

But it was too late now; all things Heaven appoints are best. Had I gone with him, I had never had so many things to be thankful for, and you had never heard of the Second Part of the Travels and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe; so I must leave here the fruitless exclaiming at myself, and go on with my voyage.

From the Brazils we made directly away over the Atlantic sea to the Cape de Bonne Esperance, or, as we call it, the Cape of Good Hope; and had a tolerable good voyage, our course generally south-east; now and then a storm, and some contrary winds. But my disasters at sea were at an end; my future rubs and cross events were to befall me on shore, that it might appear the land was as well prepared to be our scourge as the sea, when Heaven, who directs the circumstances of things, pleases to appoint it to be so.

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Our ship was on a trading voyage, and had a supercargo on board, who was to direct all her motions after she arrived at the Cape; only being limited to certain numbers of days for stay, by charter-party, at the several ports she was to go to. This was none of my business, neither did I meddle with it at all; my nephew the captain, and the supercargo, adjusting all those things between them as they thought fit.

We made no stay at the Cape longer than was needful to take in fresh water, but made the best of our way for the coast of Coromandel. We were indeed informed that a French man-of-war of fifty guns and two large merchant ships were gone for the Indies; and as I knew we were at war with France, I had some apprehensions of them; but they went their way, and we heard no more of them.

I shall not pester my account, or the reader, with descriptions of places, journals of our voyages, variations of the compass, latitudes, meridian distances, trade winds, situation of ports, and the like; such as almost all the histories of long navigation are full of, and makes the reading tiresome enough, and are perfectly unprofitable to all that read it, except only to those who are to go to those places themselves.

It is enough to name the ports and places which we touched at, and what occurred to us upon our passing from one to another. We touched first at the island of Madagascar, where, though the people are fierce and treacherous, and, in particular, very well armed with lances and bows, which they use with inconceivable dexterity, yet we fared very well with them a while; they treated us very civilly; and for some trifles which we gave them, such as knives, scissors, &c., they brought us eleven good fat bullocks, middling in size, but very good in flesh, which we took in, partly for fresh provisions for

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our present spending, and the rest to salt for the ship's use.

We were obliged to stay here some time after we had furnished ourselves with provisions; and I, that was always too curious to look into every nook of the world wherever I came, was for going on shore as fast as I could. It was on the east side of the island that we went on shore one evening, and the people, who by the way are very numerous, came thronging about us, and stood gazing at us at a distance; but as we had traded freely with them, and had been kindly used, we thought ourselves in no danger. But when we saw the people, we cut three boughs out of a tree, and stuck them up at a distance from us, which it seems is a mark in the country not only of truce and friendship, but when it is accepted the other side set up three poles or boughs, which is a signal that they accept the truce too; but then this is a known condition of the truce, that you are not to pass between their three poles towards them, nor they to come past your three poles or boughs towards you; so that you are perfectly secure within the three poles, and all the space between your poles and theirs is allowed like a market for free converse, traffic, and commerce. When you go there, you must not carry your weapons with you; and if they come into that space, they stick up their javelins and lances, all at the first poles, and come on unarmed; but if any violence is offered them, and the truce thereby broken, away they run to the poles and lay hold of their weapons, and then the truce is at an end.

It happened one evening when we went on shore that a greater number of their people came down than usual, but all was very friendly and civil, and they brought in several kinds of provisions, for which we satisfied them with such toys as we had; their

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women also brought us milk and roots, and several things very acceptable to us, and all was quiet; and we made us a little tent or hut, of some boughs of trees, and lay on shore all night.

I knew not what was the occasion, but I was not so well satisfied to lie on shore as the rest; and the boat lying at an anchor about a stone cast from the land, with two men in her to take care of her, I made one of them come on shore, and getting some boughs of trees to cover us also in the boat, I spread the sail on the bottom of the boat, and lay under the cover of the branches of trees all night in the boat.

About two o'clock in the morning we heard one of our men make a terrible noise on the shore, calling out for God's sake to bring the boat in, and come and help them, for they were all like to be murdered; at the same time I heard the firing of five muskets, which was the number of the guns they had, and that three times over; for it seems the natives here were not so easily frighted with guns as the savages were in America, where I had to do with them.

All this while I knew not what was the matter; but rousing immediately from sleep with the noise, I caused the boat to be thrust in, and resolved, with three fusils we had on board, to land and assist our men.

We got the boat soon to the shore, but our men were in too much haste; for being come to the shore, they plunged into the water to get to the boat with all the expedition they could, being pursued by between three and four hundred men. Our men were but nine in all, and only five of them had fusils with them; the rest had, indeed, pistols and swords, but they were of small use to them.

We took up seven of our men, and with difficulty

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enough too, three of them being very ill wounded; and that which was still worse was, that while we stood in the boat to take our men in, we were in as much danger as they were in on shore; for they poured their arrows in upon us so thick, that we were fain to barricade the side of the boat up with the benches and two or three loose boards, which to our great satisfaction we had by mere accident, or providence, in the boat.

And yet had it been daylight, they are, it seems, such exact marksmen, that if they could have seen but the least part of any of us, they would have been sure of us. We had, by the light of the moon, a little sight of them as they stood pelting us from the shore with darts and arrows; and having got ready our firearms, we gave them a volley, and we could hear by the cries of some of them that we had wounded several. However, they stood thus in battle array on the shore till break of day, which we suppose was that they might see the better to take their aim at us.

In this condition we lay, and could not tell how to weigh our anchor, or set up our sail, because we must needs stand up in the boat, and they were as sure to hit us, as we were to hit a bird in a tree with small shot. We made signals of distress to the ship, which, though we rode a league off, yet my nephew, the captain, hearing our firing, and by glasses perceiving the posture we lay in, and that we fired towards the shore, pretty well understood us; and weighing anchor with all speed, he stood as near the shore as he durst with the ship, and then sent another boat with ten hands in her to assist us; but we called to them not to come too near, telling them what condition we were in. However, they stood in nearer to us; and one of the men taking the end of a tow-line in his hand, and keeping our boat between

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him and the enemy, so that they could not perfectly see him, swam on board us, and made fast the line to the boat, upon which we slipped our little cable, and leaving our anchor behind, they towed us out of reach of the arrows, we all the while lying close behind the barricado we had made.

As soon as we were got from between the ship and the shore, that she could lay her side to the shore, she ran along just by them, and we poured in a broadside among them, loaden with pieces of iron and lead, small bullets, and such stuff, besides the great shot, which made a terrible havoc amongst them.

When we were got on board and out of danger, we had time to examine into the occasion of this fray; and indeed our supercargo, who had been often in those parts, put me upon it; for he said he was sure the inhabitants would not have touched us after we had made a truce, if we had not done something to provoke them to it. At length it came out, viz., that an old woman, who had come to sell us some milk, had brought it within our poles, with a young woman with her, who also brought some roots or herbs; and while the old woman, whether she was mother to the young woman or no they could not tell, was selling us the milk, one of our men offered some rudeness to the wench that was with her, at which the old woman made a great noise. However, the seaman would not quit his prize, but carried her out of the old woman's sight among the trees, it being almost dark. The old woman went away without her, and, as we suppose, made an outcry among the people she came from; who, upon notice, raised this great army upon us in three or four hours; and it was great odds but we had been all destroyed.

One of our men was killed with a lance thrown at him just at the beginning of the attack, as he sallied

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out of the tent they had made; the rest came off free, all but the fellow who was the occasion of all the mischief, who paid dear enough for his black mistress, for we could not hear what became of him a great while. We lay upon the shore two days after, though the wind presented, and made signals for him; made our boat sail up shore and down shore several leagues, but in vain; so we were obliged to give him over; and if he alone had suffered for it, the loss had been the less.

I could not satisfy myself, however, without venturing on shore once more to try if I could learn anything of him or them. It was the third night after the action that I had a great mind to learn, if I could by any means, what mischief we had done, and how the game stood on the Indians' side. I was careful to do it in the dark, lest we should be attacked again; but I ought indeed to have been sure that the men I went with had been under my command before I engaged in a thing so hazardous and mischievous, as I was brought into by it without my knowledge or design.

We took twenty stout fellows with us as any in the ship, besides the supercargo and myself; and we landed two hours before midnight, at the same place where the Indians stood drawn up the evening before. I landed here, because my design, as I have said, was chiefly to see if they had quitted the field, and if they had left any marks behind them of the mischief we had done them; and I thought if we could surprise one or two of them, perhaps we might get our man again by way of exchange.

We landed without any noise, and divided our men into two bodies, whereof the boatswain commanded one, and I the other. We neither saw or heard anybody stir when we landed, and we marched up, one body at a distance from the other, to the

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place, but at first could see nothing, it being very dark; till by-and-by our boatswain, that led the first party, stumbled and fell over a dead body. This made them halt awhile; for knowing by the circumstances that they were at the place where the Indians had stood, they waited for my coming up. Here we concluded to halt till the moon began to rise, which we knew would be in less than an hour, when we could easily discern the havoc we had made among them. We told two and thirty bodies upon the ground, whereof two were not quite dead; some had an arm, and some a leg, shot off, and one his head; those that were wounded we supposed they had carried away.

When we had made, as I thought, a full discovery of all we could come at the knowledge of, I was resolved for going on board; but the boatswain and his party sent me word that they were resolved to make a visit to the Indian town, where these dogs, as they called them, dwelt, and asked me to go along with them; and if they could find them, as still they fancied they should, they did not doubt getting a good booty, and it might be they might find Tho. Jeffery there; that was the man's name we had lost.

Had they sent to ask my leave to go, I knew well enough what answer to have given them; for I would have commanded them instantly on board, knowing it was not a hazard fit for us to run who had a ship and ship-loading in our charge, and a voyage to make, which depended very much upon the lives of the men; but as they sent me word they were resolved to go, and only asked me and my company to go along with them, I positively refused it, and rose up, for I was sitting on the ground, in order to go to the boat. One or two of the men began to importune me to go, and when I refused

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positively began to grumble, and say they were not under my command, and they would go. "Come, Jack," says one of the men, "will you go with me? I'll go for one." Jack said he would; and another followed, and then another; and in a word, they all left me but one, whom I persuaded to stay, and a boy left in the boat; so the supercargo and I, with the third man, went back to the boat, where we told them we would stay for them, and take care to take in as many of them as should be left; for I told them it was a mad thing they were going about, and supposed most of them would run the fate of Thomas Jeffery.

They told me, like seamen, they'd warrant it they would come off again, and they would take care, &c. So away they went. I entreated them to consider the ship and voyage; that their lives were not their own; and that they were entrusted with the voyage in some measure; that if they miscarried, the ship might be lost for want of their help; and that they could not answer it to God or man. I said a great deal more to them on that head, but I might as well have talked to the mainmast of the ship; they were mad upon their journey; only they gave me good words, and begged I would not be angry; that they would be very cautious, and they did not doubt but they would be back again in about an hour at farthest; for the Indian town, they said, was not above half a mile off, though they found it above two miles before they got to it.

Well, they all went away, as above; and though the attempt was desperate, and such as none but madmen would have gone about, yet, to give them their due, they went about it as warily as boldly. They were gallantly armed, that's true; for they had every man a fusil or musket, a bayonet,

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and every man a pistol; some of them had broad cutlasses, some of them hangers, and the boatswain and two more had pole-axes; besides all which they had among them thirteen hand grenades. Bolder fellows, and better provided, never went about any wicked work in the world.

When they went out their chief design was plunder, and they were in mighty hopes of finding gold there; but a circumstance, which none of them were aware of, set them on fire with revenge, and made devils of them all. When they came to the few Indian houses which they thought had been the town, which was not above half a mile off, they were under a great disappointment; for there were not above twelve or thirteen houses; and where the town was, or how big, they knew not. They consulted therefore what to do, and were some time before they could resolve; for if they fell upon these they must cut all their throats, and it was ten to one but some of them might escape, it being in the night, though the moon was up; and if one escaped, he would run away and raise all the town, so they should have a whole army upon them. Again, on the other hand, if they went away, and left those untouched, for the people were all asleep, they could not tell which way to look for the town.

However, the last was the best advice; so they resolved to leave them, and look for the town as well as they could. They went on a little way, and found a cow tied to a tree; this they presently concluded would be a good guide to them; for they said the cow certainly belonged to the town before them or the town behind them, and if they untied her they should see which way she went. If she went back, they had nothing to say to her; but if she went forward, they had nothing to do but to follow her; so they cut the cord, which was made of twisted flags,

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and the cow went on before them. In a word, the cow led them directly to the town, which, as they report, consisted of above two hundred houses or huts, and in some of these they found several families living together.

Here they found all in silence, as profoundly secure as sleep and a country that had never seen an enemy of that kind could made them. And first they called another council to consider what they had to do, and in a word, they resolved to divide themselves into three bodies, and to set three houses on fire in three parts of the town; and as the men came out, to seize them and bind them; if any resisted, they need not be asked what to do then, and so to search the rest of the houses for plunder; but they resolved to march silently first through the town, and see what dimensions it was of, and if they might venture upon it or no.

They did so, and desperately resolved that they would venture upon them; but while they were animating one another to the work, three of them that were a little before the rest called out aloud to them, and told them they had found Tom Jeffery; they all ran up to the place; and so it was indeed, for there they found the poor fellow, hanged up naked by one arm, and his throat cut. There was an Indian house just by the tree, where they found sixteen or seventeen of the principal Indians who had been concerned in the fray with us before, and two or three of them wounded with our shot; and our men found they were awake, and talking one to another in that house, but knew not their number.

The sight of their poor mangled comrade so enraged them, as before, that they swore to one another they would be revenged, and that not an Indian who came into their hands should have quarter; and to work they went immediately, and yet not

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so madly as by the rage and fury they were in might be expected. Their first care was to get something that would soon take fire; but after a little search they found that would be to no purpose, for most of the houses were low, and thatched with flags or rushes, of which the country is full; so they presently made some wild-fire, as we call it, by wetting a little powder in the palms of their hands; and in a quarter of an hour they set the town on fire in four or five places, and particularly that house where the Indians were not gone to bed. As soon as the fire began to blaze, the poor frighted creatures began to rush out to save their lives, but met with their fate in the attempt, and especially at the door, where they drove them back, the boatswain himself killing one or two with his pole-axe; the house being large, and many in it, he did not care to go in, but called for a hand-grenade, and threw it among them, which at first frighted them; but when it burst made such havoc among them, that they cried out in a hideous manner.

In short, most of the Indians who were in the open part of the house were killed or hurt with the grenade, except two or three more, who pressed to the door, which the boatswain and two more kept with their bayonets in the muzzles of their pieces, and despatched all who came that way. But there was another apartment in the house, where the prince, or king, or whatever he was, and several other, were; and these they kept in till the house, which was by this time all of a light flame, fell in upon them, and they were smothered or burnt together.

All this while they fired not a gun, because they would not waken the people faster than they could master them; but the fire began to waken them fast enough, and our fellows were glad to keep a little together in bodies; for the fire grew so raging, all

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the houses being made of light combustible stuff, that they could hardly bear the street between them, and their business was to follow the fire for the surer execution. As fast as the fire either forced the people out of those houses which were burning, or frighted them out of others, our people were ready at their doors to knock them on the head, still calling and hallooing to one another to remember Thomas Jeffery.

While this was doing I must confess I was very uneasy, and especially when I saw the flames of the town, which, it being night, seemed to be just by me.

My nephew, the captain, who was roused by his men too, seeing such a fire, was very uneasy, not knowing what the matter was, or what danger I was in; especially hearing the guns too, for by this time they began to use their firearms. A thousand thoughts oppressed his mind concerning me and the supercargo, what should become of us; and at last, though he could ill spare any more men, yet, not knowing what exigence we might be in, he takes another boat, and with thirteen men and himself come on shore to me.

He was surprised to see me and the supercargo in the boat with no more than two men; and though he was glad that we were well, yet he was in the same impatience with us to know what was doing; for the noise continued, and the flame increased. In short, it was next to an impossibility for any men in the world to restrain their curiosity to know what had happened, or their concern for the safety of the men. In a word, the captain told me he would go and help his men, let what would come. I argued with him, as I did before with the men, the safety of the ship, the danger of the voyage, the interest of the owners and merchants, &c., and told him I would go, and the two men, and only see if we could,

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at a distance, learn what was like to be the event, and come back and tell him.

It was all one to talk to my nephew, as it was to talk to the rest before; he would go, he said, and he only wished he had left but ten men in the ship, for he could not think of having his men lost for want of help; he had rather lose the ship, the voyage, and his life and all, and away went he.

In a word, I was no more able to stay behind now than I was to persuade them not to go; so, in short, the captain ordered two men to row back the pinnace, and fetch twelve men more, leaving the long-boat at an anchor; and that when they came back six men should keep the two boats, and six more come after us, so that he left only sixteen men in the ship; for the whole ship's company consisted of sixty-five men, whereof two were lost in the last quarrel which brought this mischief on.

Being now on the march, you may be sure we felt little of the ground we trod on; and being guided by the fire, we kept no path, but went directly to the place of the flame. If the noise of the guns were surprising to us before, the cries of the poor people were now of quite another nature, and filled us with horror. I must confess I never was at the sacking a city, or at the taking a town by storm. I had heard of Oliver Cromwell taking Drogheda in Ireland, and killing man, woman, and child; and I had read of Count Tilly sacking the city of Magdeburg, and cutting the throats of 22,000 of all sexes; but I never had an idea of the thing itself before, nor is it possible to describe it, or the horror which was upon our minds at hearing it.

However, we went on, and at length came to the town, though there was no entering the streets of it for the fire. The first object we met with was the ruins of a hut or house, or rather the ashes of it, for

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the house was consumed; and just before it, plain now to be seen by the light of the fire, lay four men and three women killed; and, as we thought, one or two more lay in the heap among the fire. In short, there were such instances of a rage altogether barbarous, and of a fury something beyond what was human, that we thought it impossible our men could be guilty of it; or if they were the authors of it, we thought they ought to be every one of them put to the worst of deaths. But this was not all; we saw the fire increased forward, and the cry went on just as the fire went on, so that we were in the utmost confusion. We advanced a little way farther, and behold, to our astonishment, three women naked, and crying in a most dreadful manner, come flying as if they had indeed had wings, and after them sixteen or seventeen men, natives, in the same terror and consternation, with three of our English butchers, for I can call them no better, in their rear, who when they could not overtake them fired in among them, and one that was killed by their shot fell down in our sight. When the rest saw us, believing us to be their enemies, and that we would murder them as well as those that pursued them, they set up a most dreadful shriek, especially the women, and two of them fell down as if already dead with the fright.

My very soul shrunk within me, and my blood ran chill in my veins when I saw this; and I believe had the three English sailors that pursued them come on, I had made our men kill them all. However, we took some ways to let the poor flying creatures know that we would not hurt them, and immediately they came up to us, and kneeling down, with their hands lifted up, made piteous lamentation to us to save them, which we let them know we would; whereupon they crept all together in a huddle close behind us as for protection. I left my men drawn up to-

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gether, and charged them to hurt nobody, but if possible to get at some of our people, and see what devil it was possessed them, and what they intended to do; and in a word, to command them off, assuring them that if they stayed till daylight they would have a hundred thousand men about their ears; I say, I left them and went among those flying people, taking only two of our men with me; and there was indeed a piteous spectacle among them. Some of them had their feet terribly burnt with trampling and running through the fire, others their hands burnt. One of the women had fallen down in the fire, and was very much burnt before she could get out again; and two or three of the men had cuts in their backs and thighs, from our men pursuing; and another was shot through the body, and died while I was there.

I would fain have learned what the occasion of all this was, but I could not understand one word they said, though by signs I perceived that some of them knew not what was the occasion themselves. I was so terrified in my thoughts at this outrageous attempt, that I could not stay there, but went back to my own men, and resolved to go into the middle of the town through the fire, or whatever might be in the way, and put an end to it, cost what it would. Accordingly, as soon as I came back to my men, I told them my resolution, and commanded them to follow me, when in the very moment came four of our men, with the boatswain at their head, roving over the heaps of bodies they had killed, all covered with blood and dust, as if they wanted more people to massacre, when our men hallooed to them as loud as they could halloo, and with much ado one of them made them hear, so that they knew who we were, and came up to us.

As soon as the boatswain saw us he set up a

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halloo, like a shout of triumph, for having, as he thought, more help come; and without bearing to hear me, "Captain," says he, "noble captain, I am glad you are come! We have not half done yet, villainous hell-hound dogs! I'll kill as many of them as poor Tom has hairs upon his head. We have sworn to spare none of them; we'll root out the very nation of them from the earth." And thus he ran on, out of breath, too, with action, and would not give us leave to speak a word.

At last, raising my voice, that I might silence him a little, "Barbarous dog!" said I, "what are you doing? I won't have one creature touched more upon pain of death. I charge you upon your life to stop your hands, and stand still here, or you are a dead man this minute."

"Why, sir," says he, "do you know what you do, or what they have done? If you want a reason for what we have done, come hither;" and with that he showed me the poor fellow hanging with his throat cut.

I confess I was urged then myself, and at another time would have been forward enough; but I thought they had carried their rage too far, and I thought of Jacob's words to his sons Simeon and Levi, "Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel." But I had now a new task upon my hands; for when the men I carried with me saw the sight as I had done, I had as much to do to restrain them as I should have had with the others; nay, my nephew himself fell in with them, and told me in their hearing that he was only concerned for fear of the men being overpowered; for as to the people, he thought not one of them ought to live; for they had all glutted themselves with the murder of the poor man, and that they ought to be used like murderers. Upon these words away ran eight of my men with

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the boatswain and his crew to complete their bloody work; and I, seeing it quite out of my power to restrain them, came away pensive and sad, for I could not bear the sight, much less the horrible noise and cries of the poor wretches that fell into their hands.

I got nobody to come back with me but the supercargo and two men, and with these I walked back to the boats. It was a very great piece of folly in me, I confess, to venture back as it were alone; for as it began now to be almost day, and the alarm had run over the country, there stood above forty men armed with lances and bows at the little place where the twelve or thirteen houses stood mentioned before; but by accident I missed the place, and came directly to the seaside; and by the time I got to the seaside it was broad day. Immediately I took the pinnace and went aboard, and sent her back to assist the men in what might happen.

I observed about the time that I came to the boat-side that the fire was pretty well out, and the noise abated; but in about half-an-hour after I got on board I heard a volley of our men's firearms, and saw a great smoke; this, as I understood afterwards, was our men falling upon the men who, as I said, stood at the few houses on the way; of whom they killed sixteen or seventeen, and set all those houses on fire, but did not meddle with the women or children.

By that time the men got to the shore again with the pinnace our men began to appear; they came dropping in some and some, not in two bodies, and in form, as they went, but all in heaps, straggling here and there in such a manner that a small force of resolute men might have cut them all off.

But the dread of them was upon the whole country; and the men were amazed and surprised, and so frighted, that I believe a hundred of them

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would have fled at the sight of but five of our men. Nor in all this terrible action was there a man who made any considerable defence; they were so surprised between the terror of the fire, and the sudden attack of our men in the dark, that they knew not which way to turn themselves; for if they fled one way, they were met by one party; if back again, by another; so that they were everywhere knocked down. Nor did any of our men receive the least hurt, except one, who strained his foot, and another had one of his hands very much burnt.

I was very angry with my nephew the captain, and indeed with all the men, in my mind, but with him in particular, as well for his acting so out of his duty as commander of the ship, and having the charge of the voyage upon him, as in his prompting rather than cooling the rage of his men in so bloody and cruel an enterprise. My nephew answered me very respectfully, but told me that when he saw the body of the poor seaman whom they had murdered in such a cruel and barbarous manner he was not master of himself, neither could he govern his passion. He owned he should not have done so, as he was commander of the ship; but as he was a man, and nature moved him, he could not bear it. As for the rest of the men, they were not subject to me at all, and they knew it well enough, so they took no notice of my dislike.

The next day we set sail, so we never heard any more of it. Our men differed in the account of the number they killed; some said one thing, some another; but according to the best of their accounts, put all together, they killed or destroyed about one hundred and fifty people, men, women, and children, and left not a house standing in the town.

As for the poor fellow, Tho. Jeffery, as he was

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quite dead, for his throat was so cut that his head was half off, it would do him no service to bring him away; so they left him where they found him, only took him down from the tree where he was hanged by one hand.

However just our men thought this action, I was against them in it, and I always after that time told them God would blast the voyage; for I looked upon all the blood they shed that night to be murder in them; for though it is true that they had killed Tho. Jeffery, yet it was as true that Jeffery was the aggressor, had broken the truce, and had violated or debauched a young woman of theirs, who came down to them innocently, and on the faith of their public capitulation.

The boatswain defended this quarrel when we were afterwards on board. He said it is true that we seemed to break the truce, but really had not, and that the war was begun the night before by the natives themselves, who had shot at us, and killed one of our men without any just provocation; so that as we were in a capacity to fight them now, we might also be in a capacity to do ourselves justice upon them in an extraordinary manner; that though the poor man had taken a little liberty with a wench, he ought not to have been murdered, and that in such a villainous manner; and that they did nothing but what was just, and what the laws of God allowed to be done to murderers.

One would think this should have been enough to have warned us against going on shore among heathens and barbarians; but it is impossible to make mankind wise but at their own experience; and their experience seems to be always of most use to them when it is dearest bought.

We were now bound to the Gulf of Persia, and from thence to the coast of Coromandel, only to

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touch at Surat; but the chief of the supercargo's design lay at the Bay of Bengal, where if he missed of his business outward-bound he was to go up to China, and return to the coast as he came home.

The first disaster that befell us was in the Gulf of Persia, where five of our men venturing on shore on the Arabian side of the gulf were surrounded by the Arabians, and either all killed or carried away into slavery; the rest of the boat's crew were not able to rescue them, and had but just time to get off their boat. I began to upbraid them with the just retribution of Heaven in this case; but the boatswain very warmly told me he thought I went farther in my censures than I could show any warrant for in Scripture, and referred to the 13th of St. Luke, verse 4, where our Saviour intimates that those men on whom the tower of Siloam fell were not sinners above all the Galileans; but that which indeed put me to silence in the case was, that not one of these five men who were now lost were of the number of those who went on shore to the massacre of Madagascar (so I always called it, though our men could not bear the word *massacre* with any patience); and, indeed, this last circumstance, as I have said, put me to silence for the present.

But my frequent preaching to them on this subject had worse consequences than I expected; and the boatswain, who had been the head of the attempt, came up boldly to me one time, and told me he found that I continually brought that affair upon the stage, that I made unjust reflections upon it, and had used the men very ill on that account, and himself in particular; that as I was but a passenger, and had no command in the ship, or concern in the voyage, they were not obliged to bear it; that they did not know but I might have some ill design in my head, and perhaps to call them to account for it

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when they came to England; and that, therefore, unless I would resolve to have done with it, and also not to concern myself any farther with him, or any of his affairs, he would leave the ship; for he did not think it was safe to sail with me among them.

I heard him patiently enough till he had done, and then told him that I did confess I had all along opposed the massacre of Madagascar, for such I would always call it; and that I had on all occasions spoken my mind freely about it, though not more upon him than any of the rest; that as to my having no command in the ship, that was true, nor did I exercise any authority, only took my liberty of speaking my mind in things which publicly concerned us all; and what concern I had in the voyage was none of his business; that I was a considerable owner of the ship, and in that claim I conceived I had a right to speak, even farther than I had yet done, and would not be accountable to him or any one else; and began to be a little warm with him. He made but little reply to me at that time, and I thought that affair had been over. We were at this time in the road at Bengal; and being willing to see the place, I went on shore with the supercargo in the ship's boat to divert myself; and towards evening was preparing to go on board, when one of the men came to me, and told me he would not have me trouble myself to come down to the boat, for they had orders not to carry me on board any more. Any one may guess what a surprise I was in at so insolent a message; and I asked the man who bade him deliver that errand to me? He told me the coxswain. I said no more to the fellow, but bade him let them know he had delivered his message, and that I had given him no answer to it.

I immediately went and found out the supercargo and told him the story, adding what I presently fore-

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saw, viz., that there would certainly be a mutiny in the ship, and entreated him to go immediately on board the ship in an Indian boat, and acquaint the captain of it. But I might have spared this intelligence, for before I had spoken to him on shore the matter was effected on board. The boatswain, the gunner, the carpenter, and, in a word, all the inferior officers, as soon as I was gone off in the boat, came up to the quarter-deck and desired to speak with the captain; and there the boatswain making a long harangue, for the fellow talked very well, and repeating all he had said to me, told the captain in a few words that as I was now gone peaceably on shore, they were loath to use any violence with me; which if I had not gone on shore, they would otherwise have done, to oblige me to have gone. They therefore thought fit to tell him that as they shipped themselves to serve in the ship under his command, they would perform it well and faithfully; but if I would not quit the ship, or the captain oblige me to quit it, they would all leave the ship, and sail no farther with him; and at that word "all," he turned his face about towards the mainmast, which was, it seems, the signal agreed on between them, at which all the seamen being got together they cried out, "One and all, one and all!"

My nephew, the captain, was a man of spirit, and of great presence of mind; and though he was surprised, you may be sure, at the thing, yet he told them calmly that he would consider of the thing, but that he could do nothing in it till he had spoken to me about it. He used some arguments with them to show them the unreasonableness and injustice of the thing, but it was all in vain; they swore, and shook hands round, before his face, that they would go all on shore unless he would engage to them not to suffer me to come any more on board the ship.

This was a hard article upon him, who knew his

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obligation to me, and did not know how I might take it; so he began to talk cavalierly to them; told them that I was a very considerable owner of the ship, and that in justice he could not put me out of my own house; that this was next door to serving me as the famous pirate Kidd had done, who made the mutiny in a ship, set the captain on shore in an uninhabited island, and ran away with the ship; that let them go into what ship they would, if ever they came to England again it would cost them dear; that the ship was mine, and that he could not put me out of it; and that he would rather lose the ship, and the voyage too, than disoblige me so much; so they might do as they pleased. However, he would go on shore, and talk with me on shore, and invited the boatswain to go with him, and perhaps they might accommodate the matter with me.

But they all rejected the proposal, and said they would have nothing to do with me any more, neither on board or on shore; and if I came on board, they would all go on shore. "Well," said the captain, "if you are all of this mind, let me go on shore and talk with him;" so away he came to me with this account, a little after the message had been brought to me from the coxswain.

I was very glad to see my nephew I must confess, for I was not without apprehensions that they would confine him by violence, set sail, and run away with the ship; and then I had been stripped naked, in a remote country, and nothing to help myself; in short, I had been in a worse case than when I was all alone in the island.

But they had not come that length, it seems, to my great satisfaction; and when my nephew told me what they had said to him, and how they had sworn, and shook hands, that they would one and all leave

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the ship if I was suffered to come on board, I told him he should not be concerned at it at all, for I would stay on shore. I only desired he would take care and send me all my necessary things on shore, and leave me a sufficient sum of money, and I would find my way to England as well as I could.

This was a heavy piece of news to my nephew; but there was no way to help it, but to comply with it. So, in short, he went on board the ship again, and satisfied the men that his uncle had yielded to their importunity, and had sent for his goods from on board the ship. So that matter was over in a very few hours; the men returned to their duty, and I began to consider what course I should steer.

I was now alone in the remotest part of the world, as I think I may call it, for I was near three thousand leagues, by sea, farther off from England than I was at my island; only, it is true, I might travel here by land over the Great Mogul's country to Surat, might go from thence to Bassora by sea, up the Gulf of Persia, and from thence might take the way of the caravans over the desert of Arabia to Aleppo and Scanderoon, from thence by sea again to Italy, and so overland into France; and this, put together, might be, at least, a full diameter of the globe; but if it were to be measured, I suppose it would appear to be a great deal more.

I had another way before me, which was to wait for some English ships which were coming to Bengal from Acheen, on the island of Sumatra, and get passage on board them for England; but as I came hither without any concern with the English East India Company, so it would be difficult to go from hence without their licence, unless with great favour of the captains of the ships, or of the Company's factors; and to both I was an utter stranger.

Here I had the particular pleasure, speaking by

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contraries, to see the ship sail without me; a treatment, I think, a man in my circumstances scarce ever met with, except from pirates running away with a ship, and setting those that would not agree with their villainy on shore; indeed, this was next door to it both ways. However, my nephew left me two servants, or rather, one companion and one servant; the first was clerk to the purser, whom he engaged to go with me, and the other was his own servant. I took me also a good lodging in the house of an Englishwoman, where several merchants lodged, some French, two Italians, or rather Jews, and one Englishman. Here I was handsomely enough entertained; and that I might not be said to run rashly upon anything, I stayed here above nine months, considering what course to take, and how to manage myself. I had some English goods with me of value, and a considerable sum of money; my nephew furnishing me with a thousand pieces of eight, and a letter of credit for more, if I had occasion, that I might not be straitened, whatever might happen. I quickly disposed of my goods, and to advantage too; and as I originally intended, I bought here some very good diamonds, which, of all other things, was the most proper for me in my present circumstances, because I might always carry my whole estate about me.

After a long stay here, and many proposals made for my return to England, but none falling out to my mind, the English merchant who lodged with me, and with whom I had contracted an intimate acquaintance, came to me one morning. "Countryman," says he, "I have a project to communicate to you, which, as it suits with my thoughts, may, for aught I know, suit with yours also, when you shall have thoroughly considered it.

"Here we are posted," says he, "you by accident,

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and I by my own choice, in a part of the world very remote from our own country; but it is in a country where, by us who understand trade and business, a great deal of money is to be got. If you will put a thousand pounds to my thousand pounds, we will hire a ship here, the first we can get to our minds; you shall be captain, I 'll be merchant, and we will go a trading voyage to China; for what should we stand still for? The whole world is in motion, rolling round and round; all the creatures of God, heavenly bodies and earthly, are busy and diligent; why should we be idle? There are no drones in the world, but men; why should we be of that number?"

I liked his proposal very well; and the more because it seemed to be expressed with so much good will, and in so friendly a manner. I will not say but that I might, by my loose and unhinged circumstances, be the fitter to embrace a proposal for trade, or indeed for anything else; whereas otherwise, trade was none of my element. However, I might, perhaps, say with some truth, that if trade was not my element, rambling was; and no proposal for seeing any part of the world which I never had seen before, could possibly come amiss to me.

It was, however, some time before we could get a ship to our minds; and when we had got a vessel, it was not easy to get English sailors; that is to say, so many as were necessary to govern the voyage, and manage the sailors which we should pick up there. After some time we got a mate, a boatswain, and a gunner, English; a Dutch carpenter, and three Portuguese foremastmen; with these we found we could do well enough, having Indian seamen, such as they are, to make up.

There are so many travellers who have wrote the history of their voyages and travels this way, that it

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would be very little diversion to anybody to give a long account of the places we went to, and the people who inhabit there. Those things I leave to others, and refer the reader to those journals and travels of Englishmen, of which many I find are published, and more promised every day. 'T is enough to me to tell you that I made this voyage to Acheen, in the island of Sumatra, and from thence to Siam, where we exchanged some of our wares for opium, and some arrack; the first a commodity which bears a great price among the Chinese, and which, at that time, was very much wanted there; in a word, we went up to Suskan, made a very great voyage, were eight months out, and returned to Bengal, and I was very well satisfied with my adventure.

I observe, that our people in England often admire how the officers which the Company send into India, and the merchants which generally stay there, get such very great estates as they do, and sometimes come home worth sixty to seventy and a hundred thousand pounds at a time. But it is no wonder, or at least we shall see so much farther into it, when we consider the innumerable ports and places where they have a free commerce, that it will then be no wonder; and much less will it be so when we consider, at all those places and ports where the English ships come, there is so much and such constant demand for the growth of all other countries, that there is a certain vent for the returns, as well as a market abroad for the goods carried out.

In short, we made a very good voyage, and I got so much money by the first adventure, and such an insight into the method of getting more, that had I been twenty years younger I should have been tempted to have stayed here, and sought no farther for making my fortune. But what was all this to a

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man on the wrong side of threescore, that was rich enough, and came abroad more in obedience to a restless desire of seeing the world, than a covetous desire of getting in it? And indeed I think 't is with great justice that I now call it a restless desire, for it was so. When I was at home, I was restless to go abroad; and now I was abroad, I was restless to be at home. I say, what gain was this to me? I was rich enough, nor had I any uneasy desires about getting more money; and therefore the profits of the voyage to me were things of no great force for the prompting me forward to farther undertakings; and I thought that by this voyage I had made no progress at all, because I was come back, as I might call it, to the place from whence I came, as to a home; whereas my eye, which, like that which Solomon speaks of, was never satisfied with seeing, was still more desirous of wandering and seeing. I was come into a part of the world which I was never in before, and that part in particular which I had heard much of, and was resolved to see as much of as I could, and then I thought I might say I had seen all the world that was worth seeing.

But my fellow-traveller and I had different notions. I do not name this to insist upon my own, for I acknowledge his were the most just, and the most suited to the end of a merchant's life, who, when he is abroad upon adventures, 't is his wisdom to stick to that as the best thing for him, which he is like to get the most money by. My new friend kept himself to the nature of the thing, and would have been content to have gone, like a carrier's horse, always to the same inn, backward and forward, provided he could, as he called it, find his account in it; on the other hand, mine was the notion of a mad rambling boy, that never cares to see a thing twice over.

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But this was not all. I had a kind of impatience upon me to be nearer home, and yet the most unsettled resolution imaginable which way to go. In the interval of these consultations, my friend, who was always upon the search for business, proposed another voyage to me among the Spice Islands, and to bring home a loading of cloves from the Manillas, or thereabouts; places where, indeed, the Dutch do trade, but islands belonging partly to the Spaniards; though we went not so far, but to some other, where they have not the whole power, as they have at Batavia, Ceylon, &c. We were not long in preparing for this voyage; the chief difficulty was in bringing me to come into it. However, nothing else offering, and finding that really stirring about and trading, the profit being so great, and, as I may say, certain, had more pleasure in it, and more satisfaction to the mind, than sitting still, which, to me especially, was the unhappiest part of life, I resolved on this voyage too, which we made very successfully, touching at Borneo and several islands, whose names I do not remember, and came home in about five months. We sold our spice, which was chiefly cloves, and some nutmegs, to the Persian merchants, who carried them away for the gulf; and making near five of one, we really got a great deal of money.

My friend, when we made up this account, smiled at me. "Well, now," said he, with a sort of agreeable insult upon my indolent temper, "is not this better than walking about here, like a man of nothing to do, and spending our time in staring at the nonsense and ignorance of the pagans?" "Why truly," says I, "my friend, I think it is, and I begin to be a convert to the principles of merchandising; but I must tell you," said I, "by the way, you do not know what I am a-doing; for if once I conquer my backwardness, and embark heartily, as old as I

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am, I shall harass you up and down the world till I tire you; for I shall pursue it so eagerly, I shall never let you lie still."

But to be short with my speculations. A little while after this there came in a Dutch ship from Batavia; she was a coaster, not an European trader, and of about two hundred tons burden; the men, as they pretended, having been so sickly, that the captain had not men enough to go to sea with. He lay by at Bengal; and having, it seems, got money enough, or being willing for other reasons to go for Europe, he gave public notice that he would sell his ship. This came to my ears before my new partner heard of it, and I had a great mind to buy it; so I goes home to him, and told him of it. He considered awhile, for he was no rash man either; but musing some time, he replied, "She is a little too big; but, however, we will have her." Accordingly we bought the ship; and agreeing with the master, we paid for her, and took possession. When we had done so, we resolved to entertain the men, if we could, to join them with those we had, for the pursuing our business; but on a sudden, they having received not their wages, but their share of the money, not one of them was to be found. We inquired much about them, and at length were told that they were all gone together, by land, to Agra, the great city of the Mogul's residence; and from thence were to travel to Surat, and so by sea to the Gulf of Persia.

Nothing had so heartily troubled me a good while, as that I missed the opportunity of going with them; for such a ramble I thought, and in such company as would both have guarded me and diverted me, would have suited mightily with my great design; and I should both have seen the world, and gone homewards too. But I was much better satisfied a few days after, when I came to know what sort of fellows

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they were; for, in short, their history was, that this man they called captain was the gunner only, not the commander; that they had been a trading voyage, in which they were attacked on shore by some of the Malayans, who had killed the captain and three of his men; and that after the captain was killed these men, eleven in number, had resolved to run away with the ship, which they did, and brought her in at the Bay of Bengal, leaving the mate and five men more on shore; of whom we shall hear further.

Well, let them come by the ship how they would, we came honestly by her, as we thought; though we did not, I confess, examine into things so exactly as we ought; for we never inquired anything of the seamen, who, if we had examined, would certainly have faltered in their account, contradicted one another, and perhaps contradicted themselves; or, one how or other, we should have seen reason to have suspected them. But the man showed us a bill of sale for the ship to one Emanuel Clostershoven, or some such name, for I suppose it was all a forgery, and called himself by that name; and we could not contradict him; and being withal a little too unwary, or at least having no suspicion of the thing, we went through with our bargain.

We picked up some more English seamen here after this, and some Dutch; and now we resolved for a second voyage to the south-east for cloves, &c., that is to say, among the Philippine and Malacca Isles; and in short, not to fill this part of my story with trifles, when what is yet to come is so remarkable, I spent, from first to last, six years in this country, trading from port to port, backward and forward, and with very good success; and was now the last year with my new partner, going in the ship above-mentioned, on a voyage to China, but designing first to Siam, to buy rice.

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In this voyage, being by contrary winds obliged to beat up and down a great while in the Straits of Malacca, and among the islands, we were no sooner got clear of those difficult seas, but we found our ship had sprung a leak, and we were not able, by all our industry, to find it out where it was. This forced us to make for some port; and my partner, who knew the country better than I did, directed the captain to put into the river of Cambodia; for I had made the English mate, one Mr. Thompson, captain, not being willing to take the charge of two ships upon myself. This river lies on the north side of the great bay or gulf which goes up to Siam.

While we were here, and going often on shore for refreshment, there comes to me one day an Englishman, and he was, it seems, a gunner's mate on board an English East India ship, which rode in the same river, up at or near the city of Cambodia. What brought him hither, we know not; but he comes up to me, and speaking in English, "Sir," says he, "you are a stranger to me, and I to you; but I have something to tell you, that very nearly concerns you."

I looked steadily at him a good while, and thought at first I had known him, but I did not. "If it very nearly concerns me," said I, "and not yourself, what moves you to tell it me?" — "I am moved," says he, "by the imminent danger you are in; and, for ought I see, you have no knowledge of it." — "I know no danger I am in," said I, "but that my ship is leaky, and I cannot find it out; but I purpose to lay her aground to-morrow, to see if I can find it." — "But, sir," says he, "leaky or not leaky, find it or not find it, you will be wiser than to lay your ship on shore to-morrow, when you hear what I have to say to you. Do you know, sir," said he,

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"the town of Cambodia lies about fifteen leagues up this river? And there are two large English ships about five leagues on this side, and three Dutch." — "Well," said I, "and what is that to me?" — "Why, sir," said he, "is it for a man that is upon such adventures as you are upon to come into a port and not examine first what ships there are there, and whether he is able to deal with them? I suppose you do not think you are a match for them?" I was amused very much at his discourse, but not amazed at it, for I could not conceive what he meant. I turned short upon him, and said, "Sir, I wish you would explain yourself; I cannot imagine what reason I have to be afraid of any company of ships, or Dutch ships; I am no interloper; what can they have to say to me?"

He looked like a man half angry, half pleased; and pausing awhile, but smiling, "Well, sir," said he, "if you think yourself secure, you must take your chance. I am sorry your fate should blind you against good advice; but assure yourself if you do not put to sea immediately, you will the very next tide be attacked by five longboats full of men; and perhaps, if you are taken, you will be hanged for a pirate, and the particulars be examined afterwards. I thought, sir," added he, "I should have met with a better reception than this for doing you a piece of service of such importance." — "I can never be ungrateful," said I, "for any service, or to any man that offers me any kindness; but it is past my comprehension," said I, "what they should have such a design upon me for. However, since you say there is no time to be lost, and that there is some villainous design in hand against me, I 'll go on board this minute, and put to sea immediately, if my men can stop the leak, or if we can swim without stopping it; but, sir," said I, "shall I go

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away ignorant of the reason of all this? Can you give me no farther light into it?"

"I can tell you but part of the story, sir," says he; "but I have a Dutch seaman here with me, and I believe I could persuade him to tell you the rest; but there is scarce time for it. But the short of the story is this, the first part of which, I suppose, you know well enough, viz., that you was with this ship at Sumatra; that there your captain was murdered by the Malayans, with three of his men; and that you, or some of those who were on board with you, ran away with the ship, and are since turned pirates. This is the sum of the story, and you will be all seized as pirates, I can assure you, and executed with very little ceremony; for you know merchant-ships show but little law to pirates, if they get them into their power."

"Now you speak plain English," said I, "and I thank you; and though I know nothing that we have done like what you talk of, but am sure we came honestly and fairly by the ship, yet seeing such work is a-doing, as you say, and that you seem to mean honestly, I 'll be upon my guard." — "Nay, sir," says he, "do not talk of being upon your guard; the best defence is to be out of the danger. If you have any regard to your life, and the lives of all your men, put out to sea without fail at high-water; and as you have a whole tide before you, you will be gone too far out before they can come down, for they come away at high-water; and as they have twenty miles to come, you get near two hours of them by the difference of the tide, not reckoning the length of the way; besides, as they are only boats, and not ships, they will not venture to follow you far out to sea, especially if it blows."

"Well," says I, "you have been very kind in this; what shall I do for you to make you amends?" — "Sir," says he, "you may not be so willing to make

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me any amends, because you may not be convinced of the truth of it. I'll make an offer to you. I have nineteen months' pay due to me on board the ship ———, which I came out of England in; and the Dutchman that is with me has seven months' pay due to him; if you will make good our pay to us, we will go along with you; and if you find no more in it, we will desire no more; but if we do convince you that we have saved your lives, and the ship, and the lives of all the men in her, we will leave the rest to you."

I consented to this readily, and went immediately on board, and the two men with me. As soon as I came to the ship's side, my partner, who was on board, came out on the quarter-deck, and called to me with a great deal of joy, "O ho! O ho! we have stopped the leak! we have stopped the leak!" — "Say you so?" said I; "thank God! but weigh the anchor immediately." — "Weigh!" says he; "what do you mean by that? What is the matter?" says he. — "Ask no questions," says I, "but all hands to work, and weigh without losing a minute." He was surprised; but, however, he called the captain, and he immediately ordered the anchor to be got up; and though the tide was not quite done, yet a little land-breeze blowing, we stood out to sea. Then I called him into the cabin, and told him the story at large; and we called in the men, and they told us the rest of it. But as it took us up a great deal of time, so before we had done a seaman comes to the cabin door, and calls out to us, that the captain bade him tell us we were chased. "Chased!" said I; "by whom, and by what?" — "By five sloops, or boats," says the fellow, "full of men." — "Very well," said I; "then it is apparent there is something in it." In the next place, I ordered all our men to be called up, and told them

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that there was a design to seize the ship, and to take us for pirates, and asked them if they would stand by us, and by one another? The men answered cheerfully that, one and all, they would live and die with us. Then I asked the captain what way he thought best for us to manage the fight with them, for resist them I was resolved we would, and that to the last drop. He said readily, that the way was to keep them off with our great shot as long as we could, and then to fire at them with our small arms as long as we could; but when neither of these would do any longer, we should retire to our close quarters; perhaps they had not materials to break open our bulk-heads, or get in upon us.

The gunner had, in the meantime, order to bring two guns to bear fore and aft out of the steerage, to clear the deck, and load them with musket-bullets and small pieces of old iron, and what next came to hand, and thus we made ready for fight; but all this while we kept out to sea, with wind enough, and could see the boats at a distance, being five large longboats, following us with all the sail they could make.

Two of these boats, which by our glasses we could see were English, outsailed the rest, and were near two leagues ahead of them, and gained upon us considerably, so that we found they would come up with us; upon which we fired a gun without ball, to intimate that they should bring to; and we put out a flag of truce, as a signal for parley; but they kept crowding after us till they came within shot, when we took in our white flag, they having made no answer to it, hung out a red flag, and fired at them with a shot. Notwithstanding this they came on till they were near enough to call to them with a speaking-trumpet, which we had on board; so we called to them, and bid them keep off at their peril.

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It was all one; they crowded after us, and endeavoured to come under our stern, so to board us on our quarter; upon which, seeing they were resolute for mischief, and depended upon the strength that followed them, I ordered to bring the ship to, so that they lay upon our broadside, when immediately we fired five guns at them, one of which had been levelled so true as to carry away the stern of the hindermost boat, and bring them to the necessity of taking down their sail, and running all to the head of the boat to keep her from sinking. So she lay by, and had enough of it; but seeing the foremost boat crowd on after us, we made ready to fire at her in particular.

While this was doing, one of the three boats that was behind, being forwarder than the other two, made up to the boat which we had disabled, to relieve her, and we could afterwards see her take out the men. We called again to the foremost boat, and offered a truce to parley again, and to know what was her business with us, but had no answer: only she crowded close under our stern. Upon this our gunner, who was a very dexterous fellow, ran out his two chase-guns, and fired again at her; but the shot missing, the men in the boat shouted, waved their caps, and came on. But the gunner, getting quickly ready again, fired among them the second time, one shot of which, though it missed the boat itself, yet fell in among the men, and we could easily see had done a great deal of mischief among them; but we, taking no notice of that, wared the ship again, and brought our quarter to bear upon them, and firing three guns more, we found the boat was split almost to pieces; in particular, her rudder, and a piece of her stern, were shot quite away; so they handed their sail immediately, and were in great disorder; but to complete their misfortune our

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gunner let fly two guns at them again; where he hit them we could not tell, but we found the boat was sinking, and some of the men already in the water. Upon this I immediately manned out our pinnace, which we had kept close by our side, with orders to pick up some of the men, if they could, and save them from drowning, and immediately to come on board with them, because we saw the rest of the boats began to come up. Our men in the pinnace followed their orders, and took up three men; one of which was just drowning, and it was a good while before we could recover him. As soon as they were on board we crowded all the sail we could make, and stood farther out to sea; and we found that when the other three boats came up to the first two, they gave over their chase.

Being thus delivered from a danger, which, though I knew not the reason of it, yet seemed to be much greater than I apprehended, I took care that we would change our course, and not let anyone imagine whither we were going; so we stood out to sea eastward, quite out of the course of all European ships, whether they were bound to China, or anywhere else within the commerce of the European nations.

When we were now at sea, we began to consult with the two seamen, and inquire first what the meaning of all this should be? and the Dutchman let us into the secret of it at once, telling us that the fellow that sold us the ship, as we said, was no more than a thief that had run away with her. Then he told us how the captain, whose name too he told us, though I do not remember, was treacherously murdered by the natives on the coast of Malacca, with three of his men; and that he, this Dutchman and four more, got into the woods, where they wandered about a great while; till at length he, in particular, in a miraculous manner made his escape, and swam

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off to a Dutch ship, which sailing near the shore in its way from China, had sent their boat on shore for fresh water; that he durst not come to that part of the shore where the boat was, but made shift in the night to take the water farther off, and the ship's boat took him up.

He then told us that he went to Batavia, where two of the seamen belonging to the ship arrived, having deserted the rest in their travels; and gave an account that the fellow who had run away with the ship sold her at Bengal to a set of pirates, which were gone a-cruising in her, and that they had already taken an English ship and two Dutch ships, very richly laden.

This latter part we found to concern us directly; and though we knew it to be false, yet, as my partner said very well, if we had fallen into their hands, and they had had such a prepossession against us beforehand, it had been in vain for us to have defended ourselves, or to hope for any good quarter at their hands; and especially considering that our accusers had been our judges, and that we could have expected nothing from them but what rage would have dictated, and an ungoverned passion have executed; and therefore it was his opinion we should go directly back to Bengal, from whence we came, without putting in at any port whatever, because there we could give a good account of ourselves, could prove where we were when the ship put in, whom we bought her of, and the like; and which was more than all the rest, if we were put to the necessity of bringing it before the proper judges, we should be sure to have some justice, and not be hanged first, and judged afterwards.

I was some time of my partner's opinion; but after a little more serious thinking, I told him I thought it was a very great hazard for us to attempt

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returning to Bengal, for that we were on the wrong side of the Straits of Malacca; and that if the alarm was given, we should be sure to be waylaid on every side, as well by the Dutch of Batavia, as the English elsewhere; that if we should be taken, as it were running away, we should even condemn ourselves, and there would want no more evidence to destroy us. I also asked the English sailor's opinion, who said he was of my mind, and that we should certainly be taken.

This danger a little startled my partner, and all the ship's company; and we immediately resolved to go away to the coast of Tonquin, and so on to the coast of China; and pursuing the first design as to trade, find some way or other to dispose of the ship, and come back in some of the vessels of the country, such as we could get. This was approved of as the best method for our security; and accordingly we steered away N.N.E., keeping above fifty leagues off from the usual course to the eastward.

This, however, put us to some inconveniences; for first the winds, when we came to the distance from the shore, seemed to be more steadily against us, blowing almost trade, as we call it, from the east and E.N.E., so that we were a long while upon our voyage, and we were but ill provided with victuals for so long a voyage; and which was still worse, there was some danger that those English and Dutch ships, whose boats pursued us, whereof some were bound that way, might be got in before us; and if not, some other ship bound to China might have information of us from them, and pursue us with the same vigour.

I must confess I was now very uneasy, and thought myself, including the late escape from the longboats, to have been in the most dangerous condition that ever I was in through all my past life; for whatever

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ill circumstances I had been in, I was never pursued for a thief before; nor had I ever done anything that merited the name of dishonest or fraudulent, much less thievish. I had chiefly been my own enemy; or, as I may rightly say, I had been nobody's enemy but my own. But now I was embarrassed in the worst condition imaginable; for though I was perfectly innocent, I was in no condition to make that innocence appear; and if I had been taken, it had been under a supposed guilt of the worst kind, at least a crime esteemed so among the people I had to do with.

This made me very anxious to make an escape, though which way to do it I knew not, or what port or place we should go to. My partner, seeing me thus dejected, though he was the most concerned at first, began to encourage me, and describing to me the several ports of that coast, told me he would put in on the coast of Cochin China, or the bay of Tonquin; intending to go afterwards to Macao, a town once in the possession of the Portuguese, and where still a great many European families resided, and particularly the missionary priests usually went thither, in order to their going forward to China.

Hither then we resolved to go; and accordingly, though after a tedious and irregular course, and very much straitened for provisions, we came within sight of the coast very early in the morning; and upon reflection upon the past circumstances we were in, and the danger, if we had not escaped, we resolved to put into a small river, which, however, had a depth enough of water for us, and to see if we could, either overland or by the ship's pinnace, come to know what ships were in any ports thereabouts. This happy step was, indeed, our deliverance; for though we did not immediately see any European ships in the bay of Tonquin, yet the next morning there came into the bay two Dutch ships, and a

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third without any colours spread out, but which we believed to be a Dutchman, passed by at about two leagues' distance, steering for the coast of China; and in the afternoon went by two English ships, steering the same course; and thus we thought we saw ourselves beset with enemies, both one way or other. The place we were in was wild and barbarous, the people thieves, even by occupation or profession; and though, it is true, we had not much to seek of them, and except getting a few provisions, cared not how little we had to do with them, yet it was with much difficulty that we kept ourselves from being insulted by them several ways.

We were in a small river of this country, within a few leagues of its utmost limits northward, and by our boat we coasted north-east to the point of land which opens the great bay of Tonquin; and it was in this beating up along the shore that we discovered as above, that in a word, we were surrounded with enemies. The people we were among were the most barbarous of all the inhabitants of the coast, having no correspondence with any other nation, and dealing only in fish and oil, and such gross commodities; and it may be particularly seen that they are, as I said, the most barbarous of any of the inhabitants, viz., that among other customs they have this as one, viz., that if any vessel have the misfortune to be shipwrecked upon the coast, they presently make the men all prisoners or slaves; and it was not long before we found a spice of their kindness this way, on the occasion following.

I have observed above that our ship sprung a leak at sea, and that we could not find it out; and however it happened that, as I have said, it was stopped unexpectedly in the happy minute of our being to be seized by the Dutch and English ships in the bay of Siam, yet as we did not find the ship so perfectly fit and

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sound as we desired, we resolved while we were in this place to lay her on shore, take out what heavy things we had on board, which were not many, and to wash and clean her bottom, and if possible to find out where the leaks were.

Accordingly, having lightened the ship, and brought all our guns and other movable things to one side, we tried to bring her down, that we might come at her bottom; but on second thoughts we did not care to lay her dry on ground, neither could we find out a proper place for it.

The inhabitants, who had never been acquainted with such a sight, came wondering down to the shore to look at us; and seeing the ship lie down on one side in such a manner, and heeling in towards the shore, and not seeing our men, who were at work on her bottom with stages and with their boats, on the off side, they presently concluded that the ship was cast away, and so lay fast on the ground.

On this supposition they came all about us in two or three hours' time, with ten or twelve large boats, having some of them eight, some ten men in a boat, intending, no doubt, to have come on board and plundered the ship; and if they had found us there, to have carried us away for slaves to their king, or whatever they call him, for we knew nothing who was their governor.

When they came up to the ship and began to row round her, they discovered us all hard at work on the outside of the ship's bottom and side, washing, and graving, and stooping, as every seafaring man knows how.

They stood for awhile gazing at us, and we, who were a little surprised, could not imagine what their design was; but being willing to be sure, we took this opportunity to get some of us into the ship, and others to hand down arms and ammunition to those

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that were at work to defend themselves with, if there should be occasion; and it was no more than need, for in less than a quarter of an hour's consultation they agreed, it seems, that the ship was really a wreck; that we were all at work endeavouring to save her, or to save our lives by the help of our boats; and when we handed our arms into the boats, they concluded by that motion that we were endeavouring to save some of our goods. Upon this they took it for granted we all belonged to them, and away they came down upon our men, as if it had been in a line of battle.

Our men seeing so many of them began to be frighted, for we lay but in an ill posture to fight, and cried out to us to know what they should do. I immediately called to the men who worked upon the stage to slip them down and get up the side into the ship, and bade those in the boat to row round and come on board; and those few of us who were on board worked with all the strength and hands we had to bring the ship to rights; but, however, neither the men upon the stage, or those in the boats, could do as they were ordered before the Cochin Chinese were upon them, and two of their boats boarded our longboat, and began to lay hold of the men as their prisoners.

The first man they laid hold of was an English seaman, a stout, strong fellow, who having a musket in his hand never offered to fire it, but laid it down in the boat, like a fool as I thought. But he understood his business better than I could teach him; for he grappled the pagan, and dragged him by main force out of their own boat into ours, where taking him by the two ears he beat his head so against the boat's gunnel, that the fellow died instantly in his hands; and in the meantime a Dutchman, who stood next, took up the musket, and

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with the butt-end of it so laid about him, that he knocked down five of them who attempted to enter the boat. But this was doing little towards resisting thirty or forty men, who, fearless, because ignorant of their danger, began to throw themselves into the longboat, where we had but five men in all to defend it. But one accident gave our men a complete victory, which deserved our laughter rather than anything else, and that was this.

Our carpenter being preparing to grave the outside of the ship, as well as to pay the seams where he had caulked her to stop the leaks, had got two kettles just let down into the boat, one filled with boiling pitch, and the other with rosin, tallow, and oil, and such stuff as the shipwrights use for that work; and the man that attended the carpenter had a great iron ladle in his hand, with which he supplied the men that were at work with that hot stuff. Two of the enemy's men entered the boat just where this fellow stood, being in the fore-sheets; he immediately saluted them with a ladleful of the stuff, boiling hot, which so burnt and scalded them, being half naked, that they roared out like two bulls, and enraged with the fire, leaped both into the sea. The carpenter saw it, and cried out, "Well done, Jack, give them some more of it;" and stepping forward himself takes one of their mops, and dipping it in the pitch-pot, he and his man threw it among them so plentifully, that, in short, of all the men in the three boats there was not one that was not scalded and burnt with it in a most frightful and pitiful manner, and made such a howling and crying, that I never heard a worse noise, and, indeed, nothing like it; for it is worth observing, that though pain naturally makes all people cry out, yet every nation has a particular way of exclamation, and making noises as different from one another

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as their speech. I cannot give the noise these creatures made a better name than howling, nor a name more proper to the tone of it; for I never heard anything more like the noise of the wolves which, as I have said, I heard howl in the forest on the frontiers of Languedoc.

I was never pleased with a victory better in my life; not only as it was a perfect surprise to me, and that our danger was imminent before; but as we got this victory without any bloodshed, except of that man the fellow killed with his naked hands, and which I was very much concerned at; for I was sick of killing such poor savage wretches, even though it was in my own defence, knowing they came on errands which they thought just, and knew no better; and that though it may be a just thing, because necessary, for there is no necessary wickedness in nature; yet I thought it was a sad life in which we must be always obliged to be killing our fellow-creatures to preserve our own, and, indeed, I think so still, and I would, even now, suffer a great deal rather than I would take away the life even of the person injuring me; and I believe all considering people, who know the value of life, would be of my opinion, at least they would if they entered seriously into the consideration of it.

But to return to my story. All the while this was doing, my partner and I, who managed the rest of the men on board, had with great dexterity brought the ship almost to rights; and having gotten the guns into their places again, the gunner called to me to bid our boat get out of the way, for he would let fly among them. I called back again to him, and bid him not offer to fire, for the carpenter would do the work without him, but bade him heat another pitch-kettle, which our cook, who was on board, took care of. But the enemy was so ter-

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rified with what they had met with in their first attack, that they would not come on again; and some of them that were farthest off seeing the ship swim, as it were, upright, begun, as we supposed, to see their mistake, and give over the enterprise, finding it was not as they expected. Thus we got clear of this merry fight; and having gotten some rice and some roots and bread, with about sixteen good big hogs on board two days before, we resolved to stay here no longer, but go forward whatever came of it; for we made no doubt but we should be surrounded the next day with rogues enough, perhaps more than our pitch-kettle would dispose of for us.

We therefore got all our things on board the same evening, and the next morning were ready to sail. In the meantime, lying at an anchor at some distance, we were not so much concerned, being now in a fighting posture, as well as in a sailing posture, if any enemy had presented. The next day, having finished our work within board, and finding our ship was perfectly healed of all her leaks, we set sail. We would have gone into the bay of Tonquin, for we wanted to inform ourselves of what was to be known concerning the Dutch ships that had been there; but we durst not stand in there, because we had seen several ships go in, as we supposed, but a little before; so we kept on N.E. towards the Isle of Formosa, as much afraid of being seen by a Dutch or English merchant-ship, as a Dutch or English merchant-ship in the Mediterranean is of an Algerine man-of-war.

When we were thus got to sea we kept out N.E. as if we would go to the Manillas or the Philippine Islands, and this we did that we might not fall into the way of any of our European ships; and then we steered north till we came to the latitude of 22 degrees 30 minutes, by which means we made the

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island of Formosa directly, where we came to an anchor in order to get water and fresh provisions, which the people there, who are very courteous and civil in their manners, supplied us with willingly, and dealt very fairly and punctually with us in all their agreements and bargains; which is what we did not find among other people, and may be owing to the remains of Christianity, which was once planted here by a Dutch missionary of Protestants, and is a testimony of what I have often observed, viz., that the Christian religion always civilises the people and reforms their manners, where it is received, whether it works saving effects upon them or no.

From hence we sailed still north, keeping the coast of China at an equal distance, till we knew we were beyond all the ports of China where our European ships usually come; being resolved, if possible, not to fall into any of their hands, especially in this country, where, as our circumstances were, we could not fail of being entirely ruined; nay, so great was my fear in particular as to my being taken by them, that I believe firmly I would much rather have chosen to fall into the hands of the Spanish Inquisition.

Being now come to the latitude of 30 degrees, we resolved to put into the first trading port we should come at, and standing in for the shore a boat came off two leagues to us, with an old Portuguese pilot on board, who, knowing us to be an European ship, came to offer his service, which indeed we were very glad of, and took him on board; upon which, without asking us whither we would go, he dismissed the boat he came in, and sent them back.

I thought it was now so much in our choice to make the old man carry us whither we would, that I began to talk with him about carrying us to the Gulf of Nanking, which is the most northern part of

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the coast of China. The old man said he knew the Gulf of Nanking very well; but smiling, asked us what we would do there?

I told him we would sell our cargo, and purchase China wares, calicoes, raw silks, tea, wrought silks, &c., and so would return by the same course we came. He told us our best port had been to have put in at Macao, where we could not have failed of a market for our opium to our satisfaction, and might, for our money, have purchased all sorts of China goods as cheap as we could at Nanking.

Not being able to put the old man out of his talk, of which he was very opinionated, or conceited, I told him we were gentlemen as well as merchants, and that we had a mind to go and see the great city of Peking, and the famous court of the monarch of China. "Why then," says the old man, "you should go to Ningpo, where, by the river which runs into the sea there, you may go up within five leagues of the great canal. This canal is a navigable river, which goes through the heart of all that vast empire of China, crosses all the rivers, passes some considerable hills by the help of sluices and gates, and goes up to the city of Peking, being in length near two hundred and seventy leagues."

"Well," said I, "Seignior Portuguese, but that is not our business now; the great question is, if you can carry us up to the city of Nanking, from whence we can travel to Peking afterwards?" Yes, he said he could do so very well, and that there was a great Dutch ship gone by that way just before. This gave me a little shock; a Dutch ship was now our terror, and we had much rather have met the devil, at least if he had not come in too frightful a figure, and we depended upon it that a Dutch ship would be our destruction, for we were in no condition to fight them, all the ships they trade with into those parts being

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of great burden, and of much greater force than we were.

The old man found me a little confused and under some concern when he named a Dutch ship, and said to me, "Sir, you need be under no apprehensions of the Dutch; I suppose they are not now at war with your nation?" — "No," says I, "that's true; but I know not what liberties men may take when they are out of the reach of the law." — "Why," says he, "you are no pirates, what need you fear? They will not meddle with peaceable merchants, sure."

If I had any blood in my body that did not fly up into my face at that word, it was hindered by some stop in the vessels appointed by Nature to prevent it; for it put me into the greatest disorder and confusion imaginable; nor was it possible for me to conceal it so but that the old man easily perceived it.

"Sir," says he, "I find you are in some disorder in your thoughts at my talk; pray be pleased to go which way you think fit, and depend upon it I'll do you all the service I can." — "Why, seignior," said I, "it is true I am a little unsettled in my resolution at this time whither to go in particular, and I am something more so for what you said about pirates. I hope there are no pirates in these seas; we are but in an ill condition to meet with them, for you see we have but a small force, and but very weakly manned."

"Oh sir," says he, "do not be concerned; I do not know that there has been any pirates in these seas these fifteen years, except one, which was seen, as I hear, in the bay of Siam, about a month since; but you may be assured she is gone to the southward; nor was she a ship of any great force, or fit for the work; she was not built for a privateer, but was run away with by a reprobate crew that were on board, after the captain and some of his men had been mur-

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dered by the Malayans at or near the island of Sumatra."

"What!" said I, seeming to know nothing of the matter, "did they murder the captain?" — "No," said he, "I do not understand that they murdered him; but as they afterwards ran away with the ship, it is generally believed they betrayed him into the hands of the Malayans, who did murder him, and, perhaps, they procured them to do it." — "Why then," said I, "they deserve death as much as if they had done it themselves." — "Nay," says the old man, "they do deserve it, and they will certainly have it if they light upon any English or Dutch ship, for they have all agreed together that if they meet that rogue they will give him no quarter."

"But," said I to him, "you say the pirate is gone out of those seas; how can they meet with him?" — "Why, that is true," says he, "they do say so; but he was, as I tell you, in the bay of Siam, in the river Cambodia, and was discovered there by some Dutchmen who belonged to the ship, and who were left on shore when they ran away with her; and some English and Dutch traders being in the river, they were within a little of taking him. Nay," said he, "if the foremost boats had been well seconded by the rest, they had certainly taken him; but he finding only two boats within reach of him, tacked about, and fired at these two, and disabled them before the others came up; and then standing off to sea, the others were not able to follow him, and so he got away. But they have all so exact a description of the ship, that they will be sure to know him; and wherever they find him, they have vowed to give no quarter to either the captain or the seamen, but to hang them all up at the yardarm."

"What!" says I, "will they execute them, right or wrong; hang them first, and judge them after-

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wards?"—"Oh, sir," says the old pilot, "there's no need to make a formal business of it with such rogues as those; let them tie them back to back, and set them a-diving; it is no more than they richly deserve."

I knew I had my old man fast aboard, and that he could do me no harm, so that I turned short upon him. "Well now, seignior," said I, "and this is the very reason why I would have you carry us up to Nanking, and not to put back to Macao, or to any other part of the country where the English or Dutch ships come; for be it known to you, seignior, those captains of the English and Dutch ships are a parcel of rash, proud, insolent fellows, that neither know what belongs to justice, or how to behave themselves as the laws of God and Nature direct; but being proud of their offices, and not understanding their power, they would act the murderers to punish robbers; would take upon them to insult men falsely accused, and determine them guilty without due inquiry, and perhaps I may live to call some of them to an account for it, where they may be taught how justice is to be executed, and that no man ought to be treated as a criminal till some evidence may be had of the crime, and that he is the man."

With this I told him that this was the very ship they attacked, and gave him a full account of the skirmish we had with their boats, and how foolishly and coward-like they behaved. I told him all the story of our buying the ship, and how the Dutchmen served us. I told him the reasons I had to believe that this story of killing the master by the Malayans was not true, as also the running away with the ship; but that it was all a fiction of their own to suggest that the men were turned pirates; and they ought to have been sure it was so before

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they had ventured to attack us by surprise, and oblige us to resist them; adding, that they would have the blood of those men whom we killed there in our just defence to answer for.

The old man was amazed at this relation, and told us we were very much in the right to go away to the north, and that if he might advise us, it should be to sell the ship in China, which we might very well do, and buy or build another in the country; "and," said he, "though you will not get so good a ship, yet you may get one able enough to carry you and all your goods back again to Bengal, or anywhere else."

I told him I would take his advice when I came to any port where I could find a ship for my turn, or get any customer to buy this. He replied, I should meet with customers enough for the ship at Nanking, and that a Chinese junk would serve me very well to go back again; and that he would procure me people both to buy one and sell the other.

"Well, but, seignior," says I, "as you say they know the ship so well, I may, perhaps, if I follow your measures, be instrumental to bring some honest innocent man into a terrible broil, and perhaps to be murdered in cold blood; for wherever they find the ship they will prove the guilt upon the men by proving this was the ship, and so innocent men may probably be overpowered and murdered." — "Why," says the old man, "I will find out a way to prevent that also; for as I know all those commanders you speak of very well, and shall see them all as they pass by, I will be sure to set them to rights in the thing, and let them know that they had been so much in the wrong, that though the people who were on board at first might run away with the ship, yet it was not true that they had turned pirates; and that in particular these were not the men that first went off with the ship, but innocently bought

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her for their trade; and I am persuaded they will so far believe me as at least to act more cautiously for the time to come." — "Well," says I, "and will you deliver one message to them from me?" — "Yes, I will," says he, "if you will give it under your hand in writing, that I may be able to prove that it came from you, and not out of my own head." I answered that I would readily give it him under my hand; so I took a pen and ink and paper, and wrote at large the story of assaulting me with the longboats, &c., the pretended reason of it, and the unjust cruel design of it, and concluded to the commanders that they had done what they not only should have been ashamed of, but also that if ever they came to England, and I lived to see them there, they should all pay dearly for it if the laws of my country were not grown out of use before I arrived there.

My old pilot read this over and over again, and asked me several times if I would stand to it. I answered, I would stand to it as long as I had anything left in the world, being sensible that I should one time or other find an opportunity to put it home to them. But we had no occasion ever to let the pilot carry this letter, for he never went back again. While those things were passing between us by way of discourse, we went forward directly for Nanking, and in about thirteen days' sail came to an anchor at the south-west point of the great gulf of Nanking; where, by the way, I came by accident to understand that two Dutch ships were gone the length before me, and that I should certainly fall into their hands. I consulted my partner again in this exigency, and he was as much at a loss as I was, and would very gladly have been safe on shore almost anywhere. However, I was not in such perplexity neither, but I asked the old pilot if there was no creek or harbour which I might put into,

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and pursue my business with the Chinese privately, and be in no danger of the enemy. He told me if I would sail to the southward about two and forty leagues there was a little port called Quinchang, where the fathers of the mission usually landed from Macao on their progress to teach the Christian religion to the Chinese, and where no European ships ever put in; and if I thought to put in there, I might consider what farther course to take when I was ashore. He confessed, he said, it was not a place for merchants, except that at some certain times they had a kind of a fair there, when the merchants from Japan came over to buy the Chinese merchandises.

We all agreed to go back to this place; the name of the port, as he called it, I may, perhaps, spell wrong, for I do not particularly remember it, having lost this together with the names of many other places set down in a little pocket-book, which was spoiled by the water, on an accident, which I shall relate in its order; but this I remember, that the Chinese or Japanese merchants we corresponded with called it by a differing name from that which our Portuguese pilot gave it, and pronounced it, as above, Quinchang.

As we were unanimous in our resolutions to go to this place, we weighed the next day, having only gone twice ashore, where we were to get fresh water; on both which occasions the people of the country were very civil to us, and brought us abundance of things to sell to us; I mean of provisions, plants, roots, tea, rice, and some fowls; but nothing without money.

We came to the other port (the wind being contrary) not till five days; but it was very much to our satisfaction, and I was joyful, and I may say thankful, when I set my foot safe on shore, resolv-

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ing, and my partner too, that if it was possible to dispose of ourselves and effects any other way, though not every way to our satisfaction, we would never set one foot on board that unhappy vessel more; and indeed I must acknowledge, that of all the circumstances of life that ever I had any experience of, nothing makes mankind so completely miserable as that of being in constant fear. Well does the Scripture say, "The fear of man brings a snare;" it is a life of death, and the mind is so entirely suppressed by it, that it is capable of no relief; the animal spirits sink, and all the vigour of nature, which usually supports men under other afflictions, and is present to them in the greatest exigencies, fails them here.

Nor did it fail of its usual operations upon the fancy by heightening every danger, representing the English and Dutch captains to be men incapable of hearing reason, or of distinguishing between honest men and rogues; or between a story calculated for our own turn, made out of nothing, on purpose to deceive, and a true genuine account of our whole voyage, progress, and design; for we might many ways have convinced any reasonable creature that we were not pirates; the goods we had on board, the course we steered, our frankly showing ourselves, and entering into such and such ports; and even our very manner, the force we had, the number of men, the few arms, little ammunition, short provisions; all these would have served to convince any men that we were no pirates. The opium and other goods we had on board would make it appear the ship had been at Bengal; the Dutchmen, who, it was said, had the names of all the men that were in the ship, might easily see that we were a mixture of English, Portuguese, and Indians, and but two Dutchmen on board. These, and many other par-

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ticular circumstances, might have made it evident to the understanding of any commander, whose hands we might fall into, that we were no pirates.

But fear, that blind useless passion, worked another way, and threw us into the vapours; it bewildered our understandings, and set the imagination at work to form a thousand terrible things that, perhaps, might never happen. We first supposed, as indeed everybody had related to us, that the seamen on board the English and Dutch ships, but especially the Dutch, were so enraged at the name of a pirate, and especially at our beating off their boats and escaping, that they would not give themselves leave to inquire whether we were pirates or no, but would execute us offhand, as we call it, without giving us any room for a defence. We reflected that there was really so much apparent evidence before them, that they would scarce inquire after any more; as first, that the ship was certainly the same, and that some of the seamen among them knew her, and had been on board her; and secondly, that when we had intelligence at the river of Cambodia that they were coming down to examine us, we fought their boats and fled; so that we made no doubt but they were fully satisfied of our being pirates, as we were satisfied of the contrary; and as I often said, I know not but I should have been apt to have taken those circumstances for evidence if the tables were turned, and my case was theirs, and have made no scruple of cutting all the crew to pieces, without believing, or perhaps considering, what they might have to offer in their defence.

But let that be how it will, those were our apprehensions; and both my partner and I too scarce slept a night without dreaming of halters and yard-arms, that is to say, gibbets; of fighting, and being taken; of killing, and being killed; and one night I

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was in such a fury in my dream, fancying the Dutchmen had boarded us, and I was knocking one of their seamen down, that I struck my double fist against the side of the cabin I lay in with such a force as wounded my hand most grievously, broke my knuckles, and cut and bruised the flesh, so that it not only waked me out of my sleep, but I was once afraid I should have lost two of my fingers.

Another apprehension I had was, of the cruel usage we might meet with from them if we fell into their hands; then the story of Amboyna came into my head, and how the Dutch might, perhaps, torture us, as they did our countrymen there; and make some of the men, by extremity of torture, confess those crimes they never were guilty of; own themselves, and all of us, to be pirates; and so they would put us to death, with a formal appearance of justice; and that they might be tempted to do this for the gain of our ship and cargo, which was worth four or five thousand pounds, put all together.

These things tormented me, and my partner too, night and day; nor did we consider that the captains of ships have no authority to act thus; and if we had surrended prisoners to them, they could not answer the destroying us, or torturing us, but would be accountable for it when they came into their own country. This, I say, gave me no satisfaction; for if they will act thus with us, what advantage would it be to us that they would be called to an account for it; or if we were first to be murdered, what satisfaction would it be to us to have them punished when they came home?

I cannot refrain taking notice here what reflections I now had upon the past variety of my particular circumstances; how hard I thought it was that I, who had spent forty years in a life of continued difficulties, and was at last come, as it were, to the port

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or haven which all men drive at, viz., to have rest and plenty, should be a volunteer in new sorrows by my own unhappy choice; and that I, who escaped so many dangers in my youth, should now come to be hanged in my old age, and in so remote a place, for a crime I was not in the least inclined to, much less really guilty of; and in a place and circumstance, where innocence was not like to be any protection at all to me.

After these thoughts, something of religion would come in; and I would be considering that this seemed to me to be a disposition of immediate Providence, and I ought to look upon it, and submit to it, as such; that although I was innocent as to men, I was far from being innocent as to my Maker; and I ought to look in and examine what other crimes in my life were more obvious to me, and for which Providence might justly inflict this punishment as a retribution; and that I ought to submit to this, just as I would to a shipwreck, if it had pleased God to have brought such a disaster upon me.

In its turn, natural courage would sometimes take its place, and then I would be talking myself up to vigorous resolutions, that I would not be taken to be barbarously used by a parcel of merciless wretches in cold blood; that it were much better to have fallen into the hands of the savages, who were men-eaters, and who, I was sure, would feast upon me when they had taken me, than by those who would perhaps glut their rage upon me by inhuman tortures and barbarities; that in the case of the savages I always resolved to die fighting to the last gasp; and why should I not do so, seeing it was much more dreadful, to me at least, to think of falling into these men's hands, than ever it was to think of being eaten by men? for the savages, give them their due, would not eat a man till he was dead, and killed him first,

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as we do a bullock; but that these men had many arts beyond the cruelty of death. Whenever these thoughts prevailed, I was sure to put myself in a kind of fever with the agitations of a supposed fight; my blood would boil, and my eyes sparkle, as if I was engaged; and I always resolved that I would take no quarter at their hands; but even at last, if I could resist no longer, I would blow up the ship, and all that was in her, and leave them but little booty to boast of.

By how much the greater weight the anxieties and perplexities of these things were to our thoughts while we were at sea, by so much the greater was our satisfaction when we saw ourselves on shore; and my partner told me he dreamed that he had a very heavy load upon his back, which he was to carry up a hill, and found that he was not able to stand long under it, but that the Portuguese pilot came and took it off his back, and the hill disappeared, the ground before him showing all smooth and plain; and truly it was so; we were all like men who had a load taken off their backs.

For my part, I had a weight taken off from my heart that I was not able any longer to bear; and, as I said above, we resolved to go no more to sea in that ship. When we came on shore the old pilot, who was now our friend, got us a lodging, and a warehouse for our goods, which, by the way, was much the same. It was a little house, or hut, with a large house joining to it, all built with canes, and palisadoed round with large canes to keep out pilfering thieves, of which, it seems, there were not a few in that country. However, the magistrates allowed us also a little guard, and we had a sentinel with a kind of halberd, or half pike, who stood sentinel at our door, to whom we allowed a pint of rice and a little piece of money, about the value of three-

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pence, per day; so that our goods were kept very safe.

The fair or mart usually kept in this place had been over some time; however, we found that there were three or four junks in the river, and two Japanners (I mean ships from Japan), with goods which they had bought in China, and were not gone away, having Japanese merchants on shore.

The first thing our old Portuguese pilot did for us was to bring us acquainted with three missionary Romish priests who were in the town, and who had been there some time converting the people to Christianity; but we thought they made but poor work of it, and made them but sorry Christians when they had done. However, that was none of our business. One of these was a Frenchman, whom they called Father Simon. He was a jolly, well-conditioned man, very free in his conversation, not seeming so serious and grave as the other two did, one of whom was a Portuguese, and the other a Genoese; but Father Simon was courteous, easy in his manner, and very agreeable company; the other two were more reserved, seemed rigid and austere, and applied seriously to the work that came about, viz., to talk with, and insinuate themselves among, the inhabitants wherever they had opportunity. We often ate and drank with those men; and though I must confess the conversion, as they call it, of the Chinese to Christianity is so far from the true conversion required to bring heathen people to the faith of Christ, that it seems to amount to little more than letting them know the name of Christ, and say some prayers to the Virgin Mary and her Son in a tongue which they understand not, and to cross themselves and the like; yet it must be confessed that these religious, whom we call missionaries, have a firm belief that these people shall be saved, and

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that they are the instruments of it; and on this account they undergo not only the fatigue of the voyage, and hazards of living in such places, but oftentimes death itself, with the most violent tortures, for the sake of this work; and it would be a great want of charity in us, whatever opinion we have of the work itself, and the manner of their doing it, if we should not have a good opinion of their zeal, who undertook it with so many hazards, and who have no prospect of the least temporal advantage to themselves.

But to return to my story. This French priest, Father Simon, was appointed, it seems, by order of the chief of the mission to go up to Peking, the royal seat of the Chinese emperor, and waited only for another priest, who was ordered to come to him from Macao to go along with him; and we scarce ever met together but he was inviting me to go that journey, telling me how he would show me all the glorious things of that mighty empire, and among the rest the greatest city in the world; a city, said he, that your London and our Paris, put together, cannot be equal to. This was the city of Peking, which, I confess, is very great, and infinitely full of people; but as I looked on those things with different eyes from other men, so I shall give my opinion of them in few words when I come in the course of my travels to speak more particularly of them.

But first I come to my friar or missionary. Dining with him one day, and being very merry together, I showed some little inclination to go with him; and he pressed me and my partner very hard, and with a great many persuasions, to consent. "Why, Father Simon," says my partner, "why should you desire our company so much? You know we are heretics, and you do not love us, nor cannot keep us company with any pleasure." — "Oh!" says he, "you may,

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perhaps, be good Catholics in time; my business here is to convert heathens, and who knows but I may convert you too?" — "Very well, father," said I, "so you will preach to us all the way." — "I won't be troublesome to you," says he; "our religion does not divest us of good manners; besides," says he, "we are here like countrymen; and so we are, compared to the place we are in; and if you are Huguenots, and I a Catholic, we may be all Christians at last; at least," said he, "we are all gentlemen, and we may converse so without being uneasy to one another." I liked that part of his discourse very well, and it began to put me in mind of my priest that I had left in the Brazils; but this Father Simon did not come up to his character by a great deal; for though Father Simon had no appearance of a criminal levity in him neither, yet he had not that fund of Christian zeal, strict piety, and sincere affection to religion that my other good ecclesiastic had, of whom I have said so much.

But to leave him a little, though he never left us, nor soliciting us to go with him, but we had something else before us at first; for we had all this while our ship and our merchandise to dispose of; and we began to be very doubtful what we should do, for we were now in a place of very little business; and once I was about to venture to sail for the river of Kilam and the city of Nanking; but Providence seemed now more visibly, as I thought, than ever to concern itself in our affair; and I was encouraged from this very time to think I should, one way or other, get out of this tangled circumstance, and be brought home to my own country again, though I had not the least view of the manner; and when I began sometimes to think of it, could not imagine by what method it was to be done; Providence, I say, began here to clear up our way a little; and the first thing

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that offered was, that our old Portuguese pilot brought a Japan merchant to us, who began to inquire what goods we had; and, in the first place, he bought all our opium, and gave us a very good price for it, paying us in gold by weight, some in small pieces of their own coin, and some in small wedges, of about ten or eleven ounces each. While we were dealing with him for our opium, it came into my head that he might, perhaps, deal with us for the ship too; and I ordered the interpreter to propose it to him. He shrunk up his shoulders at it when it was first proposed to him; but in a few days after he came to me, with one of the missionary priests for his interpreter, and told me he had a proposal to make to me, and that was this: he had bought a great quantity of goods of us when he had no thoughts, or proposals made to him, of buying the ship, and that, therefore, he had not money enough to pay for the ship; but if I would let the same men who were in the ship navigate her, he would hire the ship to go to Japan, and would send them from thence to the Philippine Islands with another loading, which he would pay the freight of before they went from Japan; and that, at their return, he would buy the ship. I began to listen to his proposal; and so eager did my head still run upon rambling, that I could not but begin to entertain a notion of going myself with him, and to sail from the Philippine Islands away to the South Seas; and accordingly I asked the Japan merchant if he would not hire us to the Philippine Islands, and discharge us there. He said no, he could not do that, for then he could not have the return of his cargo; but he would discharge us in Japan, he said, at the ship's return. Well, still I was for taking him at that proposal, and going myself; but my partner, wiser than myself, persuaded me from it, representing the dangers

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as well of the seas as of the Japanese, who are a false, cruel, and treacherous people; and then of the Spaniards at the Philippines, more false, more cruel, and more treacherous than they.

But to bring this long turn of our affairs to a conclusion. The first thing we had to do was to consult with the captain of the ship and with his men, and know if they were willing to go to Japan; and while I was doing this, the young man whom, as I said, my nephew had left with me as my companion for my travels, came to me, and told me that he thought that voyage promised very fair, and that there was a great prospect of advantage, and he would be very glad if I undertook it; but that if I would not, and would give him leave, he would go as a merchant, or how I pleased to order him; that if ever he came to England, and I was there, and alive, he would render me a faithful account of his success, and it should be as much mine as I pleased.

I was really loath to part with him; but considering the prospect of advantage, which was really considerable, and that he was a young fellow as likely to do well in it as any I knew, I inclined to let him go; but first I told him I would consult my partner, and give him an answer the next day. My partner and I discoursed about it, and my partner made a most generous offer. He told me, "You know it has been an unlucky ship, and we both resolve not to go to sea in it again; if your steward (so he called my man) will venture the voyage, I 'll leave my share of the vessel to him, and let him make his best of it; and if we live to meet in England, and he meets with success abroad, he shall account for one-half of the profits of the ship's freight to us, the other shall be his own."

If my partner, who was no way concerned with my young man, made him such an offer, I could do no

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less than offer him the same; and all the ship's company being willing to go with him, we made over half the ship to him in property, and took a writing from him, obliging him to account for the other; and away he went to Japan. The Japan merchant proved a very punctual honest man to him, protected him at Japan, and got him a licence to come on shore, which the Europeans in general have not lately obtained, paid him his freight very punctually, sent him to the Philippines, loaded with Japan and China wares, and a supercargo of their own, who trafficking with the Spaniards brought back European goods again, and a great quantity of cloves and other spices; and there he was not only paid his freight very well, and at a very good price, but being not willing to sell the ship then, the merchant furnished him with goods on his own account; that for some money and some spices of his own, which he brought with him, he went back to the Manillas, to the Spaniards, where he sold his cargo very well. Here having gotten a good acquaintance at Manilla, he got his ship made a free ship; and the governor of Manilla hired him to go to Acapulco, in America, on the coast of Mexico; and gave him a licence to land there, and travel to Mexico; and to pass in any Spanish ship to Europe, with all his men.

He made the voyage to Acapulco very happily, and there he sold his ship; and having there also obtained allowance to travel by land to Porto Bello, he found means somehow or other to get to Jamaica with all his treasure, and about eight years after came to England exceeding rich, of the which I shall take notice in its place; in the meantime, I return to our particular affairs.

Being now to part with the ship and ship's company, it came before us, of course, to consider what recompense we should give to the two men that they

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gave us such timely notice of the design against us in the river of Cambodia. The truth was, that they had done us a considerable service, and deserved well at our hands, though, by the way, they were a couple of rogues too; for as they believed the story of our being pirates, and that we had really run away with the ship, they came down to us not only to betray the design that was formed against us, but to go to sea with us as pirates; and one of them confessed afterwards that nothing else but the hopes of going a-roguing brought him to do it. However, the service they did us was not the less; and therefore, as I had promised to be grateful to them, I first ordered the money to be paid to them which they said was due to them on board their respective ships; that is to say, the Englishman nineteen months' pay, and to the Dutchman seven; and over and above that I gave them, each of them, a small sum of money in gold, and which contented them very well. Then I made the Englishman gunner in the ship, the gunner being now made second mate and purser; the Dutchman I made boatswain; so they were both very well pleased, and proved very serviceable, being both able seamen, and very stout fellows.

We were now on shore in China. If I thought myself banished and remote from my own country at Bengal, where I had many ways to get home for my money, what could I think of myself now, when I was gotten about a thousand leagues farther off from home, and perfectly destitute of all manner of prospect of return?

All we had for it was this, that in about four months' time there was to be another fair at the place where we were, and then we might be able to purchase all sorts of the manufactures of the country, and withal might possibly find some Chinese junks or vessels from Tonquin that would be to be sold,

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and would carry us and our goods whither we pleased. This I liked very well, and resolved to wait; besides, as our particular persons were not obnoxious, so if any English or Dutch ships came thither, perhaps we might have an opportunity to load our goods, and get passage to some other place in India nearer home.

Upon these hopes we resolved to continue here; but to divert ourselves we took two or three journeys into the country. First, we went ten days' journey to see the city of Nanking, a city well worth seeing indeed; they say it has a million of people in it, which, however, I do not believe. It is regularly built, the streets all exactly straight, and cross one another in direct lines, which gives the figure of it great advantage.

But when I come to compare the miserable people of these countries with ours, their fabrics, their manner of living, their government, their religion, their wealth, and their glory, as some call it, I must confess I do not so much as think it is worth naming, or worth my while to write of, or any that shall come after me to read.

It is very observable that we wonder at the grandeur, the riches, the pomp, the ceremonies, the government, the manufactures, the commerce, and the conduct of these people; not that it is to be wondered at, or, indeed, in the least to be regarded; but because, having first a true notion of the barbarity of those countries, the rudeness and the ignorance that prevails there, we do not expect to find any such things so far off.

Otherwise, what are their buildings to the palaces and royal buildings of Europe? What is their trade to the universal commerce of England, Holland, France, and Spain? What are their cities to ours for wealth, strength, gaiety of apparel, rich

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furniture, and an infinite variety? What are their ports, supplied with a few junks and barks, to our navigation, our merchant fleets, our large and powerful navies? Our city of London has more trade than all their mighty empire. One English, or Dutch, or French man-of-war of eighty guns would fight and destroy all the shipping of China. But the greatness of their wealth, their trade, the power of their government, and strength of their armies, is surprising to us, because, as I have said, considering them as a barbarous nation of pagans, little better than savages, we did not expect such things among them; and this, indeed, is the advantage with which all their greatness and power is represented to us, otherwise it is in itself nothing at all. For as I have said of their ships, so may be said of their armies and troops; all the forces of their empire, though they were to bring two millions of men into the field together, would be able to do nothing but ruin the country, and starve themselves. If they were to besiege a strong town in Flanders, or to fight a disciplined army, one line of German cuirassiers, or of French cavalry, would overthrow all the horse of China; a million of their foot could not stand before one embattled body of our infantry, posted so as not to be surrounded, though they were to be not one to twenty in number; nay, I do not boast if I say that 30,000 German or English foot, and 10,000 French horse, would fairly beat all the forces of China. And so of our fortified towns, and of the art of our engineers, in assaulting and defending towns; there 's not a fortified town in China could hold out one month against the batteries and attacks of an European army; and at the same time, all the armies in China could never take such a town as Dunkirk, provided it was not starved; no, not in ten years' siege. They have firearms, 't is true, but they are

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awkward, clumsy, and uncertain in going off; they have powder, but it is of no strength; they have neither discipline in the field, exercise to their arms, skill to attack, or temper to retreat; and therefore I must confess it seemed strange to me when I came home and heard our people say such fine things of the power, riches, glory, magnificence, and trade of the Chinese, because I saw and knew that they were a contemptible herd or crowd of ignorant, sordid slaves, subjected to a government qualified only to rule such a people; and, in a word, for I am now launched quite beside my design, I say, in a word, were not its distance inconceivably great from Muscovy, and was not the Muscovite empire almost as rude, impotent, and ill-governed a crowd of slaves as they, the Czar of Muscovy might, with much ease, drive them all out of their country, and conquer them in one campaign; and had the Czar, who I since hear is a growing prince, and begins to appear formidable in the world, fallen this way instead of attacking the warlike Swedes, in which attempt none of the powers of Europe would have envied or interrupted him, he might, by this time, have been Emperor of China, instead of being beaten by the King of Sweden at Narva, when the latter was not one to six in number.

As their strength and their grandeur, so their navigation, commerce, and husbandry is imperfect and impotent compared to the same things in Europe. Also in their knowledge, their learning, their skill in the sciences; they have globes and spheres, and a smatch of the knowledge of the mathematics; but when you come to inquire into their knowledge, how short-sighted are the wisest of their students! They know nothing of the motion of the heavenly bodies; and so grossly, absurdly ignorant, that when the sun is eclipsed they think 't is a great dragon has

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assaulted and run away with it, and they fall a-clattering with all the drums and kettles in the country to fright the monster away, just as we do to hive a swarm of bees.

As this is the only excursion of this kind which I have made in all the account I have given of my travels, so I shall make no more descriptions of countries and people; 'tis none of my business, or any part of my design, but giving an account of my own adventures, through a life of inimitable wanderings, and a long variety of changes, which, perhaps, few that come after me will have heard the like of. I shall, therefore, say very little of all the mighty places, desert countries, and numerous people I have yet to pass through, more than relates to my own story, and which my concern among them will make necessary. I was now, as near as I can compute, in the heart of China, about the latitude of thirty degrees north of the line, for we were returned from Nanking. I had, indeed, a mind to see the city of Peking, which I had heard so much of, and Father Simon importuned me daily to do it. At length his time of going away being set, and the other missionary, who was to go with him, being arrived from Macao, it was necessary that we should resolve either to go, or not to go; so I referred him to my partner, and left it wholly to his choice, who at length resolved it in the affirmative, and we prepared for our journey.

We set out with very good advantage as to finding the way; for we got leave to travel in the retinue of one of their mandarins, a kind of viceroy, or principal magistrate, in the province where they reside, and who take great state upon them, travelling with great attendance, and with great homage from the people, who are sometimes greatly impoverished by them, because all the countries they pass through

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are obliged to furnish provisions for them, and all their attendance. That which I particularly observed as to our travelling with his baggage, was this, that though we received sufficient provisions, both for ourselves and our horses, from the country, as belonging to the mandarin, yet we were obliged to pay for everything we had after the market-price of the country, and the mandarin's steward, or commissary of the provisions, collected it duly from us; so that our travelling in the retinue of the mandarin, though it was a very great kindness to us, was not such a mighty favour in him, but was, indeed, a great advantage to him, considering there were above thirty other people travelled in the same manner besides us, under the protection of his retinue, or, as we may call it, under his convoy; this, I say, was a great advantage to him, for the country furnished all the provisions for nothing, and he took all our money for them.

We were five and twenty days travelling to Peking, through a country infinitely populous, but miserably cultivated; the husbandry, the economy, and the way of living miserable, though they boast so much of the industry of the people; I say miserable; and so it is, if we, who understand how to live, were to endure it, or to compare it with our own; but not so to these poor wretches, who know no other. The pride of these people is infinitely great, and exceeded by nothing but their poverty, which adds to that which I call their misery; and I must needs think the naked savages of America live much more happy, because, as they have nothing, so they desire nothing; whereas these are proud and insolent, and, in the main, are mere beggars and drudges; their ostentation is inexpressible, and is chiefly showed in their clothes and buildings, and in keeping multitudes of servants or slaves; and which

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is to the last degree ridiculous, their contempt of all the world but themselves.

I must confess I travelled more pleasantly afterwards in the deserts and vast wildernesses of Grand Tartary than here; and yet the roads here are well paved and well kept, and very convenient for travellers; but nothing was more awkward to me than to see such a haughty, imperious, insolent people in the midst of the grossest simplicity and ignorance, for all their famed ingenuity is no more; and my friend Father Simon and I used to be very merry upon these occasions to see the beggarly pride of those people. For example, coming by the house of a country gentleman, as Father Simon called him, about ten leagues off of the city of Nanking, we had, first of all, the honour to ride with the master of the house about two miles; the state he rode in was a perfect Don Quixotism, being a mixture of pomp and poverty.

The habit of this greasy Don was very proper for a scaramouch or merry-andrew, being a dirty calico, with all the tawdry and trapping of a fool's coat, such as hanging sleeves, tassels, and cuts and slashes almost on every side; it covered a taffeta vest, as greasy as a butcher, and which testified that his honour must needs be a most exquisite sloven. His horse was a poor, lean, starved, hobbling creature, such as in England might sell for about thirty or forty shillings; and he had two slaves followed him on foot, to drive the poor creature along. He had a whip in his hand, and he belaboured the beast as fast about the head as his slaves did about the tail; and thus he rode by us with about ten or twelve servants; and we were told he was going from the city to his country seat, about half a league before us. We travelled on gently, but this figure of a gentleman rode away before us, and we stopped at a village about an hour to refresh us.

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When we came by the country seat of this great man, we saw him in a little place before his door, eating his repast. It was a kind of a garden, but he was easy to be seen; and we were given to understand that the more we looked on him, the better he would be pleased. He sat under a tree, something like the palmetto-tree, which effectually shaded him over the head, and on the south side; but under the tree also was placed a large umbrella, which made that part look well enough. He sat lolling back in a great elbow-chair, being a heavy, corpulent man, and his meat being brought him by two women slaves. He had two more, whose office, I think, few gentlemen in Europe would accept of their service in, viz., one fed the squire with a spoon, and the other held the dish with one hand, and scraped off what he let fall upon his worship's beard and taffeta vest; while the great fat brute thought it below him to employ his own hands in any of those familiar offices which kings and monarchs would rather do than be troubled with the clumsy fingers of their servants.

I took this time to think what pains men's pride puts them to, and how troublesome a haughty temper, thus ill-managed, must be to a man of common-sense; and leaving the poor wretch to please himself with our looking at him, as if we admired his pomp, whereas we really pitied and contemned him, we pursued our journey; only Father Simon had the curiosity to stay to inform himself what dainties the country justice had to feed on in all his state; which he said he had the honour to taste of, and which was, I think, a dose that an English hound would scarce have eaten if it had been offered him, viz., a mess of boiled rice, with a great piece of garlic in it, and a little bag filled with green pepper, and another plant which they have there, something

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like our ginger, but smelling like musk, and tasting like mustard. All this was put together, and a small lump or piece of lean mutton boiled in it; and this was his worship's repast, four or five servants more attending at a distance. If he fed them meaner than he was fed himself, the spice excepted, they must fare very coarsely indeed.

As for our mandarin with whom we travelled, he was respected like a king; surrounded always with his gentlemen, and attended in all his appearances with such pomp, that I saw little of him but at a distance; but this I observed, that there was not a horse in his retinue but that our carriers' pack-horses in England seem to me to look much better; but they were so covered with equipage, mantles, trappings, and such like trumpery, that you cannot see whether they are fat or lean; in a word, we could see scarce anything but their feet and their heads.

I was now light-hearted, and all my trouble and perplexity that I had given an account of being over, I had no anxious thoughts about me, which made this journey the pleasanter to me; nor had I any ill accident attended me, only in the passing or fording a small river my horse fell, and made me free of the country, as they call it; that is to say, threw me in. The place was not deep, but it wetted me all over. I mention it, because it spoiled my pocket-book, wherein I had set down the names of several people and places which I had occasion to remember, and which, not taking due care of, the leaves rotted, and the words were never after to be read, to my great loss as to the names of some places I touched at in this voyage.

At length we arrived at Peking. I had nobody with me but the youth, whom my nephew, the captain, had given me to attend me as a servant, and who proved very trusty and diligent; and my part-

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ner had nobody with him but one servant, who was a kinsman. As for the Portuguese pilot, he being desirous to see the court, we gave him his passage, that is to say, bore his charges for his company, and to use him as an interpreter, for he understood the language of the country, and spoke good French and a little English; and, indeed, this old man was a most useful implement to us everywhere; for we had not been above a week at Peking, when he came laughing. "Ah, seignior Inglese," says he, "I have something to tell you will make your heart glad."— "My heart glad," says I, "what can that be? I don't know anything in this country can either give me joy or grief, to any great degree."—"Yes, yes," said the old man in broken English, "make you glad, me sorrow;" sorry, he would have said. This made me more inquisitive. "Why," said I, "will it make you sorry?"—"Because," said he, "you have brought me here twenty-five days' journey, and will leave me to go back alone; and which way shall I get to my port afterwards, without a ship, without a horse, without pecune?" so he called money; being his broken Latin, of which he had abundance to make us merry with.

In short, he told us there was a great caravan of Muscovite and Polish merchants in the city, and they were preparing to set out on their journey, by land, to Muscovy within four or five weeks, and he was sure we would take the opportunity to go with them, and leave him behind to go back all alone. I confess I was surprised with his news. A secret joy spread itself over my whole soul, which I cannot describe, and never felt before or since; and I had no power, for a good while, to speak a word to the old man; but at last I turned to him. "How do you know this?" said I; "are you sure it is true?" —"Yes," says he, "I met this morning in the street

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an old acquaintance of mine, an Armenian, or one you call a Grecian, who is among them; he came last from Astrakhan, and was designing to go to Tonquin, where I formerly knew him, but has altered his mind, and is now resolved to go with the caravan to Moscow, and so down the river Volga to Astrakhan." — "Well, seignior," says I, "do not be uneasy about being left to go back alone. If this be a method for my return to England, it shall be your fault if you go back to Macao at all." We then went to consulting together what was to be done, and I asked my partner what he thought of the pilot's news, and whether it would suit with his affairs. He told me he would do just as I would; for he had settled all his affairs so well at Bengal, and left his effects in such good hands, that as we had made a good voyage here, if he could vest it in China silks, wrought and raw, such as might be worth the carriage, he would be content to go to England, and then make his voyage back to Bengal by the Company's ships.

Having resolved upon this, we agreed that if our Portugal pilot would go with us we would bear his charges to Moscow, or to England if he pleased; nor, indeed, were we to be esteemed over-generous in that part neither, if we had not rewarded him farther; for the service he had done us was really worth all that, and more; for he had not only been a pilot to us at sea, but he had been like a broker for us on shore; and his procuring for us the Japan merchant was some hundred of pounds in our pocket. So we consulted together about it; and being willing to gratify him, which was indeed but doing him justice, and very willing also to have him with us besides, for he was a most necessary man on all occasions, we agreed to give him a quantity of coined gold, which, as I compute it, came to about £175 sterling between

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us, and to bear all his charges, both for himself and horse, except only a horse to carry his goods.

Having settled this among ourselves, we called him to let him know what we had resolved. I told him he had complained of our being to let him go back alone, and I was now to tell him we were resolved he should not go back at all; that as we had resolved to go to Europe with the caravan, we resolved also he should go with us, and that we called him to know his mind. He shook his head, and said it was a long journey, and he had no pecune to carry him thither, or to subsist himself when he came there. We told him we believed it was so, and therefore we had resolved to do something for him that should let him see how sensible we were of the service he had done us, and also how agreeable he was to us; and then I told him what we had resolved to give him here, which he might lay out as we would do our own; and that as for his charges, if he would go with us, we would set him safe ashore, life and casualties excepted, either in Muscovy or England, which he would, at our own charge, except only the carriage of his goods.

He received the proposal like a man transported, and told us he would go with us over the whole world; and so, in short, we all prepared ourselves for the journey. However, as it was with us, so it was with the other merchants; they had many things to do, and instead of being ready in five weeks, it was four months and some odd days before all things were got together.

It was the beginning of February, our style, when we set out from Peking. My partner and the old pilot had gone express back to the port where we had first put in, to dispose of some goods which we had left there; and I, with a Chinese merchant, whom I had some knowledge of at Nanking, and

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who came to Peking on his own affairs, went to Nanking, where I bought ninety pieces of fine damasks, with about two hundred pieces of other very fine silks, of several sorts, some mixed with gold, and had all these brought to Peking against my partner's return. Besides this, we bought a very large quantity of raw silk, and some other goods; our cargo amounting, in these goods only, to about three thousand five hundred pounds sterling, which, together with tea, and some fine calicoes, and three camels' loads of nutmegs and cloves, loaded in all eighteen camels for our share, besides those we rode upon; which, with two or three spare horses, and two horses loaded with provisions, made us, in short, twenty-six camels and horses in our retinue.

The company was very great, and, as near as I can remember, made between three and four hundred horse, and upwards of a hundred and twenty men, very well armed, and provided for all events; for, as the eastern caravans are subjected to be attacked by the Arabs, so are these by the Tartars; but they are not altogether so dangerous as the Arabs, nor so barbarous when they prevail.

The company consisted of people of several nations, such as Muscovites chiefly; for there were above sixty of them who were merchants or inhabitants of Moscow, though of them some were Livonians; and to our particular satisfaction, five of them were Scots, who appeared also to be men of great experience in business, and men of very good substance.

When we had travelled one day's journey, the guides, who were five in number, called all the gentlemen and merchants, that is to say, all the passengers, except the servants, to a great council, as they called it. At this great council every one deposited a certain quantity of money to a common stock for the necessary expense of buying forage on the way,

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where it was not otherwise to be had, and for satisfying the guides, getting horses, and the like. And here they constituted the journey, as they call it, viz., they named captains and officers, to draw us all up, and give the command in case of an attack, and gave every one their turn of command; nor was this forming us into order any more than what we found needful upon the way, as shall be observed in its place.

The road all on this side of the country is very populous, and is full of potters and earth makers; that is to say, people that tempered the earth for the China ware; and as I was coming along, our Portugal pilot, who had always something or other to say to make us merry, came sneering to me, and told me he would show me the greatest rarity in all the country; and that I should have this to say of China, after all the ill-humoured things I had said of it, that I had seen one thing which was not to be seen in all the world beside. I was very importunate to know what it was. At last he told me it was a gentleman's house, built all with China ware. "Well," says I, "are not the materials of their building the product of their own country; and so is all China ware, is it not?" — "No, no," says he, "I mean it is an house all made of China ware, such as you call it in England; or, as it is called in our country, porcelain." — "Well," says I, "such a thing may be; how big is it? can we carry it in a box upon a camel? If we can, we will buy it." — "Upon a camel!" says the old pilot, holding up both his hands; "why, there is a family of thirty people in it."

I was then curious, indeed, to see it; and when I came to it, it was nothing but this: it was a timber house, or a house built, as we call it in England, with lath and plaster, but all the plastering was really

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China ware, that is to say, it was plastered with the earth that makes China ware.

The outside, which the sun shone hot upon, was glazed, and looked very well, perfect white, and painted with blue figures, as the large China ware in England is painted, and hard, as if it had been burnt. As to the inside, all the walls, instead of wainscot, were lined up with hardened and painted tiles, like the little square tiles we calls galley tiles in England, all made of the finest china, and the figures exceeding fine indeed, with extraordinary variety of colours, mixed with gold, many tiles making but one figure, but joined so artifically, the mortar being made of the same earth, that it was very hard to see where the tiles met. The floors of the rooms were of the same composition, and as hard as the earthen floors we have in use in several parts of England, especially Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, &c., as hard as a stone, and smooth, but not burnt and painted, except some smaller rooms, like closets, which were all, as it were, paved with the same tile; the ceiling and, in a word, all the plastering work in the whole house were of the same earth; and, after all, the roof was covered with tiles of the same, but of a deep shining black.

This was a China warehouse indeed, truly and literally to be called so; and had I not been upon the journey, I could have stayed some days to see and examine the particulars of it. They told me there were fountains and fish-ponds in the garden, all paved at the bottom and sides with the same, and fine statues set up in rows on the walks, entirely formed of the porcelain earth, and burnt whole.

As this is one of the singularities of China, so they may be allowed to excel in it; but I am very sure they excel in their accounts of it, for they told me such incredible things of their performance in

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crockery-ware, for such it is, that I care not to relate, as knowing it could not be true. They told me, in particular, of one workman that made a ship, with all its tackle, and masts, and sails, in earthenware, big enough to carry fifty men. If he had told me he launched it, and made a voyage to Japan in it, I might have said something to it indeed; but as it was, I knew the whole of the story, which was, in short, asking pardon for the word, that the fellow lied; so I smiled, and said nothing to it.

This odd sight kept me two hours behind the caravan, for which the leader of it for the day fined me about the value of three shillings; and told me, if it had been three days' journey without the wall, as it was three days within, he must have fined me four times as much, and made me ask pardon the next council-day; so I promised to be more orderly; for, indeed, I found afterward the orders made for keeping all together were absolutely necessary for our common safety.

In two days more we passed the great China wall, made for a fortification against the Tartars; and a very great work it is, going over hills and mountains in a needless track, where the rocks are impassable, and the precipices such as no enemy could possibly enter, or indeed climb up, or where, if they did, no wall could hinder them. They tell us its length is near a thousand English miles, but that the country is five hundred in a straight measured line, which the wall bounds, without measuring the windings and turnings it takes; 't is about four fathoms high, and as many thick in some places.

I stood still an hour, or thereabout, without trespassing our orders, for so long the caravan was in passing the gate; I say, I stood still an hour to look at it on every side, near, and far off; I mean, that was within my view; and the guide of our caravan,

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who had been extolling it for the wonder of the world, was mighty eager to hear my opinion of it. I told him it was a most excellent thing to keep off the Tartars, which he happened not to understand as I meant it, and so took it for a compliment; but the old pilot laughed. "O seignior Inglese," says he, "you speak in colours." "In colours!" said I; "what do you mean by that?" "Why, you speak what looks white this way, and black that way — gay one way, and dull another way. You tell him it is a good wall to keep out Tartars; you tell me, by that, it is good for nothing but to keep out Tartars, or it will keep out none but Tartars. I understand you, seignior Inglese, I understand you," says he, "but seignior Chinese understood you his own way."

"Well," says I, "seignior, do you think it would stand out an army of our country-people, with a good train of artillery, or our engineers, with two companies of miners? Would not they batter it down in ten days, that an army might enter in battalia, or blow it up in the air, foundation and all, that there should be no sign of it left?" — "Ah, ah!" says he, "I know that." The Chinese wanted mightily to know what I said, and I gave him leave to tell him a few days after, for he was then almost out of their country, and he was to leave us in a little time afterward; but when he knew what I had said, he was dumb all the rest of the way, and we heard no more of his fine story of the Chinese power and greatness while he stayed.

After we had passed this mighty nothing, called a wall, something like the Picts' wall, and so famous in Northumberland, and built by the Romans, we began to find the country thinly inhabited, and the people rather confined to live in fortified towns and cities, as being subject to the inroads and depreda-

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tions of the Tartars, who rob in great armies, and therefore are not to be resisted by the naked inhabitants of an open country.

And here I began to find the necessity of keeping together in a caravan as we travelled, for we saw several troops of Tartars roving about; but when I came to see them distinctly, I wondered more that the Chinese Empire could be conquered by such contemptible fellows; for they are a mere horde or crowd of wild fellows, keeping no order, and understanding no discipline, or manner of fight.

Their horses are poor, lean, starved creatures, taught nothing, and fit for nothing; and this we said the first day we saw them, which was after we entered the wider part of the country. Our leader for the day gave leave for about sixteen of us to go a-hunting, as they call it, and what was this but hunting of sheep? However, it may be called hunting too; for the creatures are the wildest and swiftest of foot that ever I saw of their kind, only they will not run a great way, and you are sure of sport when you begin the chase, for they appear generally thirty or forty in a flock, and, like true sheep, always keep together when they fly.

In pursuit of this odd sort of game, it was our hap to meet with about forty Tartars. Whether they were hunting mutton as we were, or whether they looked for another kind of prey, I know not; but as soon as they saw us, one of them blew a kind of horn very loud, but with a barbarous sound that I had never heard before, and, by the way, never care to hear again. We all supposed this was to call their friends about them; and so it was, for in less than half a quarter of an hour a troop of forty or fifty more appeared at about a mile distance; but our work was over first, as it happened.

One of the Scots merchants of Moscow happened

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to be amongst us; and as soon as he heard the horn he told us, in short, that we had nothing to do but to charge them immediately, without loss of time; and drawing us up in a line, he asked if we were resolved? We told him we were ready to follow him; so he rode directly up to them. They stood gazing at us like a mere crowd, drawn up in no order, nor showing the face of any order at all; but as soon as they saw us advance, they let fly their arrows, which, however, missed us very happily. It seems they mistook not their aim, but their distance; for their arrows all fell a little short of us, but with so true an aim, that had we been about twenty yards nearer, we must have had several men wounded, if not killed.

Immediately we halted; and though it was at a great distance, we fired, and sent them leaden bullets for wooden arrows, following our shot full gallop, to fall in among them sword in hand, for so our bold Scot that led us directed. He was, indeed, but a merchant, but he behaved with that vigour and bravery on this occasion, and yet with such a cool courage too, that I never saw any man in action fitter for command. As soon as we came up to them we fired our pistols in their faces, and then drew, but they fled in the greatest confusion imaginable. The only stand any of them made was on our right, where three of them stood, and, by signs, called the rest to come back to them, having a kind of scymitar in their hands, and their bows hanging at their backs. Our brave commander, without asking anybody to follow him, gallops up close to them, and with his fusee knocks one of them off his horse, killed the second with his pistol, and the third ran away, and thus ended our fight. But we had this misfortune attending it, viz., that all our mutton that we had in chase got away. We had not a man killed or

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hurt; but as for the Tartars there was about five of them killed. Who were wounded, we knew not; but this we knew, that the other party was so frighted with the noise of our guns, that they made off, and never made any attempt upon us.

We were all this while in the Chinese dominion, and therefore the Tartars were not so bold as afterwards; but in about five days we entered a vast great wild desert, which held us three days' and nights' march; and we were obliged to carry our water with us in great leather bottles, and to encamp all night, just as I have heard they do in the desert of Arabia.

I asked whose dominion this was in, and they told me this was a kind of border, that might be called No Man's Land; being a part of the Great Karakathie, or Grand Tartary, but that, however, it was all reckoned to China; but that there was no care taken here to preserve it from the inroads of thieves, and therefore it was reckoned the worst desert in the whole world, though we were to go over some much larger.

In passing this wilderness, which, I confess, was at the first very frightful to me, we saw two or three times little parties of the Tartars, but they seemed to be upon their own affairs, and to have no design upon us; and so, like the man who met the devil, if they had nothing to say to us, we had nothing to say to them; we let them go.

Once, however, a party of them came so near as to stand and gaze at us; whether it was to consider what they should do, whether attack us or not attack us, that we knew not; but when we were passed at some distance by them, we made a rearguard of forty men, and stood ready for them, letting the caravan pass half a mile, or thereabouts, before us; but after a while they marched off, only we found they saluted

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us with five arrows at their parting, one of which wounded a horse so that it disabled him, and we left him the next day, poor creature, in great need of a good farrier. We suppose they might shoot more arrows, which might fall short of us; but we saw no more arrows, or Tartars, that time.

We travelled near a month after this, the ways being not so bad as at first, though still in the dominions of the Emperor of China; but lay, for the most part, in villages, some of which were fortified because of the incursions of the Tartars. When we came to one of these towns (it was about two days and a half journey before we were to come to the city Naum), I wanted to buy a camel, of which there are plenty to be sold all the way upon that road, and of horses also, such as they are, because so many caravans coming that way they are often wanted. The person that I spoke to to get me a camel would have gone and fetched it for me, but I, like a fool, must be officious, and go myself along with him. The place was about two miles out of the village, where, it seems, they kept the camels and horses feeding under a guard.

I walked it on foot with my old pilot, being very desirous, forsooth, of a little variety. When we came to the place it was a low marshy ground, walled round with a stone wall, piled up dry, without mortar or earth among it, like a park, with a little guard of Chinese soldiers at the door. Having bought a camel, and agreed for the price, I came away; and the Chinese man, that went with me, led the camel, when on a sudden came up five Tartars on horseback. Two of them seized the fellow, and took the camel from him, while the other three stepped up to me and my old pilot, seeing us, as it were, unarmed; for I had no weapon about me but my sword, which could but ill defend me against

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three horsemen. The first that came up stopped short upon my drawing my sword (for they are arrant cowards), but a second coming up on my left gave me a blow on the head, which I never felt till afterward, and wondered, when I came to myself, what was the matter with me, and where I was, for he laid me flat on the ground; but my never-failing old pilot, the Portuguese (so Providence, unlooked for, directs deliverances from dangers which to us are unforeseen), had a pistol in his pocket, which I knew nothing of, nor the Tartars neither; if they had, I suppose they would not have attacked us; but cowards are always boldest when there is no danger.

The old man seeing me down, with a bold heart stepped up to the fellow that had struck me, and laid hold of his arm with one hand, and pulling him down by main force a little towards him with the other, shot him into the head, and laid him dead upon the spot. He then immediately stepped up to him who had stopped us, as I said, and before he could come forward again, for it was all done as it were in a moment, made a blow at him with a scymitar, which he always wore, but missing the man, cut his horse into the side of his head, cut one of his ears off by the root, and a great slice down the side of his face. The poor beast, enraged with the wound, was no more to be governed by his rider, though the fellow sat well enough too; but away he flew, and carried him quite out of the pilot's reach, and at some distance, rising up upon his hind-legs, threw down the Tartar, and fell upon him.

In this interval the poor Chinese came in who had lost the camel, but he had no weapon. However, seeing the Tartar down, and his horse fallen upon him, away he runs to him, and seizing upon an ugly ill-favoured weapon he had by his side, something

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like a pole-axe, but not a pole-axe neither, he wrenched it from him, and made shift to knock his Tartarian brains out with it. But my old man had the third Tartar to deal with still; and seeing he did not fly as he expected, nor come on to fight him as he apprehended, but stand stock still, the old man stood still too, and falls to work with his tackle to charge his pistol again. But as soon as the Tartar saw the pistol, whether he supposed it to be the same or another, I know not; but away he scoured, and left my pilot, my champion I called him afterward, a complete victory.

By this time I was a little awake; for I thought, when first I began to wake, that I had been in a sweet sleep; but as I said above, I wondered where I was, how I came upon the ground, and what was the matter; in a word, a few moments after, as sense returned, I felt pain, though I did not know where. I clapped my hand to my head, and took it away bloody; then I felt my head ache, and then, in another moment, memory returned, and everything was present to me again.

I jumped up upon my feet instantly, and got hold of my sword, but no enemies in view. I found a Tartar lie dead, and his horse standing very quietly by him; and looking farther, I saw my champion and deliverer, who had been to see what the Chinese had done, coming back with his hanger in his hand. The old man seeing me on my feet came running to me, and embraced me with a great deal of joy, being afraid before that I had been killed; and seeing me bloody, would see how I was hurt; but it was not much, only what we call a broken head; neither did I afterwards find any great inconvenience from the blow other than the place which was hurt, and was well again in two or three days.

We made no great gain, however, by this victory,

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for we lost a camel, and gained a horse; but that which was remarkable, when we came back to the village the man demanded to be paid for the camel. I disputed it, and it was brought to a hearing before the Chinese judge of the place; that is to say, in English, we went before a justice of the peace. Give him his due, he acted with a great deal of prudence and impartiality; and having heard both sides, he gravely asked the Chinese man that went with me to buy the camel whose servant he was? "I am no servant," says he, "but went with the stranger." — "At whose request?" says the justice. — "At the stranger's request," says he. — "Why then," says the justice, "you were the stranger's servant for the time, and the camel being delivered to his servant, it was delivered to him, and he must pay for it."

I confess the thing was clear, that I had not a word to say; but admiring to see such just reasoning upon the consequence, and so accurate stating the case, I paid willingly for the camel, and sent for another; but you may observe, I sent for it; I did not go and fetch it myself any more; I had enough of that.

The city of Naun is a frontier of the Chinese Empire. They call it fortified, and so it is, as fortifications go there; for this I will venture to affirm, that all the Tartars in Karakathie, which, I believe, are some millions, could not batter down the walls with their bows and arrows; but to call it strong, if it were attacked with cannon, would be to make those who understand it laugh at you.

We wanted, as I have said, above two days' journey of this city when messengers were sent express to every part of the road to tell all travellers and caravans to halt till they had a guard sent for them, for that an unusual body of Tartars, making ten thousand in all, had appeared in the way, about thirty miles beyond the city.

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This was very bad news to travellers. However, it was carefully done of the governor, and we were very glad to hear we should have a guard. Accordingly, two days after, we had two hundred soldiers sent us from a garrison of the Chinese on our left, and three hundred more from the city of Naun, and with those we advanced boldly; the three hundred soldiers from Naun marched in our front, the two hundred in our rear, and our men on each side of our camels with our baggage, and the whole caravan in the centre. In this order, and well prepared for battle, we thought ourselves a match for the whole ten thousand Mongol Tartars if they had appeared; but the next day, when they did appear, it was quite another thing.

It was early in the morning when, marching from a little well-situated town called Changu, we had a river to pass, where we were obliged to ferry; and had the Tartars had any intelligence, then had been the time to have attacked us, when, the caravan being over, the rearguard was behind; but they did not appear.

About three hours after, when we were entered upon a desert of about fifteen or sixteen miles over, behold, by a cloud of dust they raised, we saw an enemy was at hand; and they were at hand indeed, for they came on upon the spur.

The Chinese, our guard on the front, who had talked so big the day before, began to stagger, and the soldiers frequently looked behind them, which is a certain sign in a soldier that he is just ready to run away. My old pilot was of my mind; and being near me, he called out, "Seignior Inglese," says he, "those fellows must be encouraged, or they will ruin us all; for if the Tartars come on, they will never stand it."—"I am of your mind," said I, "but what course must be done?"—"Done!" says he, "let fifty of our men advance and flank them on

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each wing, and encourage them, and they will fight like brave fellows in brave company; but without, they will every man turn his back." Immediately I rode up to our leader and told him, who was exactly of our mind; and accordingly fifty of us marched to the right wing, and fifty to the left, and the rest made a line of reserve; and so we marched, leaving the last two hundred men to make another body by themselves, and to guard the camels; only that, if need were, they should send a hundred men to assist the last fifty.

In a word, the Tartars came on, and an innumerable company they were; how many, we could not tell, but ten thousand we thought was the least. A party of them came on first and viewed our posture, traversing the ground in the front of our line; and as we found them within gunshot, our leader ordered the two wings to advance swiftly, and give them a salvo on each wing with their shot, which was done; but they went off, and I suppose back to give an account of the reception they were like to meet with; and indeed that salute clogged their stomach, for they immediately halted, stood a while to consider of it, and wheeling off to the left they gave over the design, and said no more to us for that time; which was very agreeable to our circumstances, which were but very indifferent for a battle with such a number.

Two days after this we came to the city of Naun, or Naum. We thanked the governor for his care for us, and collected to the value of a hundred crowns, or thereabouts, which we gave to the soldiers sent to guard us, and here we rested one day. This is a garrison, indeed, and there were nine hundred soldiers kept here; but the reason of it was, that formerly the Muscovite frontiers lay nearer to them than they do *now*, the Muscovites having abandoned

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that part of the country (which lies from this city west for about two hundred miles) as desolate and unfit for use; and more especially, being so very remote, and so difficult to send troops thither for its defence; for we had yet above two thousand miles to Muscovy, properly so called.

After this we passed several great rivers, and two dreadful deserts, one of which we were sixteen days passing over, and which, as I said, was to be called No Man's Land; and on the 13th of April we came to the frontiers of the Muscovite dominions. I think the first city, or town, or fortress, whatever it might be called, that belonged to the Czar of Muscovy, was called Argunsk, being on the west side of the river Argun.

I could not but discover an infinite satisfaction that I was soon arrived in, as I called it, a Christian country, or at least in a country governed by Christians; for though the Muscovites do, in my opinion, but just deserve the name of Christians, yet such they pretend to be, and are very devout in their way. It would certainly occur to any man who travels in the world as I have done, and who had any power of reflection, I say, it would occur to him to reflect what a blessing it is to be brought into the world where the name of God and of a Redeemer is known, worshipped, and adored; and not where the people, given up by Heaven to strong delusions, worship the devil, and prostrate themselves to stocks and stones, worship monsters, elements, horrible shaped animals, and statues, or images of monsters. Not a town or city we passed through but had their pagodas, their idols, and their temples, and ignorant people worshipping even the works of their own hands.

Now we came where, at least, a face of the Christian worship appeared, where the knee was bowed to

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Jesus; and whether ignorantly or not, yet the Christian religion was owned, and the name of the true God was called upon and adored, and it made the very recesses of my soul rejoice to see it. I saluted the brave Scots merchant I mentioned above with my first acknowledgment of this; and taking him by the hand, I said to him, "Blessed be God, we are once again come among Christians!" He smiled, and answered, "Do not rejoice too soon, countryman; these Muscovites are but an odd sort of Christians; and but for the name of it, you may see very little of the substance for some months farther of our journey."

"Well," says I, "but still 't is better than paganism, and worshipping of devils."—"Why, I 'll tell you," says he, "except the Russian soldiers in garrisons, and a few of the inhabitants of the cities upon the road, all the rest of this country, for above a thousand miles farther, is inhabited by the worst and most ignorant of pagans." And so indeed we found it.

We were now launched into the greatest piece of solid earth, if I understand anything of the surface of the globe, that is to be found in any part of the earth. We had at least twelve hundred miles to the sea, eastward; we had at least two thousand to the bottom of the Baltic Sea, westward; and above three thousand miles, if we left that sea, and went on west to the British and French channels; we had full five thousand miles to the Indian or Persian Sea, south; and about eight hundred miles to the Frozen sea, north; nay, if some people may be believed, there might be no sea north-east till we came round the pole, and consequently into the north-west, and so had a continent of land into America, the Lord knows where; though I could give some reasons why I believe that to be a mistake.

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As we entered into the Muscovite dominions a good while before we came to any considerable towns, we had nothing to observe there but this; first, that all the rivers that run to the east — as I understood by the charts, which some in our caravan had with them — it was plain all those rivers ran into the great river Amour, or Gammour. This river, by the natural course of it, must run into the east sea, or Chinese ocean. The story they tell us, that the mouth of this river is choked up with bulrushes of a monstrous growth, viz., three feet about, and twenty or thirty feet high, I must be allowed to say I believe nothing of; but as its navigation is of no use, because there is no trade that way, the Tartars, to whom alone it belongs, dealing in nothing but cattle, so nobody that ever I heard of has been curious enough either to go down to the mouth of it in boats, or come up from the mouth of it in ships; but this is certain, that this river running due east, in the latitude of [fifty degrees], carries a vast concourse of rivers along with it, and finds an ocean to empty itself in that latitude; so we are sure of sea there.

Some leagues to the north of this river there are several considerable rivers, whose streams run as due north as the Amour runs east; and these are all found to join their waters with the great river Tartarus, named so from the northernmost nations of the Mongol Tartars, who, the Chinese say, were the first Tartars in the world; and who, as our geographers allege, are the Gog and Magog mentioned in sacred story.

These rivers running all northward, as well as all the other rivers I am yet to speak of, make it evident that the northern ocean bounds the land also on that side, so that it does not seem rational in the least to think that the land can extend itself to join with America on that side, or that there is not a com-

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munication between the northern and the eastern ocean; but of this I shall say no more; it was my observation at that time, and therefore I take notice of it in this place. We now advanced from the river Argun by easy and moderate journeys, and were very visibly obliged to the care the Czar of Muscovy has taken to have cities and towns built in as many places as are possible to place them, where his soldiers keep garrison something like the stationary soldiers placed by the Romans in the remotest countries of their empire, some of which I had read particularly were placed in Britain for the security of commerce, and for the lodging travellers. And thus it was here; for wherever we came, though at these towns and stations the garrisons and governor were Russians and professed Christians, yet the inhabitants of the country were mere pagans, sacrificing to idols, and worshipping the sun, moon, and stars, or all the host of heaven; and not only so, but were, of all the heathens and pagans that ever I met with, the most barbarous, except only that they did not eat man's flesh, as our savages of America did.

Some instances of this we met with in the country between Argunsk, where we enter the Muscovite dominions, and a city of Tartars and Russians together, called Nertchinsk, in which is a continued desert or forest, which cost us twenty days to travel over it. In a village near the last of those places, I had the curiosity to go and see their way of living, which is most brutish and unsufferable. They had, I suppose, a great sacrifice that day; for there stood out upon an old stump of a tree an idol made of wood, frightful as the devil, at least as anything we can think of to represent the devil can be made. It had a head certainly not so much as resembling any creature that the world ever saw; ears as big as goat's horns, and as high; eyes as big as a crown-

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piece; a nose like a crooked ram's horn; and a mouth extended four-cornered, like that of a lion, with horrible teeth, hooked like a parrot's under-bill. It was dressed up in the filthiest manner that you could suppose; its upper garment was of sheep-skins, with the wool outward; a great Tartar bonnet on the head, with two horns growing through it; it was about eight feet high, yet had no feet or legs, or any other proportion of parts.

This scarecrow was set up at the outer side of the village; and when I came near to it there was sixteen or seventeen creatures, whether men or women I could not tell, for they make no distinction by their habits, either of body or head; these lay all flat on the ground, round this formidable block of shapeless wood. I saw no motion among them any more than if they had been all logs of wood, like their idol; and at first really thought they had been so; but when I came a little nearer, they started up upon their feet, and raised a howling cry, as if it had been so many deep-mouthed hounds, and walked away as if they were displeased at our disturbing them. A little way off from the idol, and at the door of that tent or hut, made all of sheep-skins and cow-skins, dried, stood three butchers; I thought they were such; when I came nearer to them I found they had long knives in their hands, and in the middle of the tent appeared three sheep killed, and one young bullock, or steer. These, it seems, were sacrifices to that senseless log of an idol, and these three men priests belonging to it; and the seventeen prostrated wretches were the people who brought the offering, and were making their prayers to that stock.

I confess I was more moved at their stupidity and brutish worship of a hobgoblin, than ever I was at anything in my life; to see God's most glorious and

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best creature, to whom He had granted so many advantages, even by creation, above the rest of the works of His hands, vested with a reasonable soul, and that soul adorned with faculties and capacities adapted both to honour his Maker and be honoured by Him, sunk and degenerated to a degree so more than stupid as to prostrate itself to a frightful nothing, a mere imaginary object dressed up by themselves, and made terrible to themselves by their own contrivance, adorned only with clouts and rags; and that this should be the effect of mere ignorance, wrought up into hellish devotion by the devil himself, who, envying (to his Maker) the homage and adoration of His creatures, had deluded them into such gross, surfeiting, sordid, and brutish things as one would think should shock Nature itself.

But what signified all the astonishment and reflection of thoughts? Thus it was, and I saw it before my eyes; and there was no room to wonder at it, or think it impossible. All my admiration turned to rage; and I rode up to the image, or monster, call it what you will, and with my sword cut the bonnet that was on its head in two in the middle, so that it hung down by one of the horns; and one of our men that was with me took hold of the sheep-skin that covered it, and pulled at it, when, behold, a most hideous outcry and howling ran through the village, and two or three hundred people came about my ears, so that I was glad to scour for it, for we saw some had bows and arrows; but I resolved from that moment to visit them again.

Our caravan rested three nights at the town, which was about four miles off, in order to provide some horses which they wanted, several of the horses having been lamed and jaded with the badness of the way and long march over the last desert; so we had

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some leisure here to put my design in execution. I communicated my project to the Scots merchant of Moscow, of whose courage I had had sufficient testimony, as above. I told him what I had seen, and with what indignation I had since thought that human nature could be so degenerate. I told him I was resolved, if I could but get four or five men well armed to go with me, I was resolved to go and destroy that vile, abominable idol, and let them see that it had no power to help itself, and consequently could not be an object of worship, or to be prayed to, much less help them that offered sacrifices to it.

He laughed at me. Says he, "Your zeal may be good, but what do you propose to yourself by it?" — "Propose!" said I; "to vindicate the honour of God, which is insulted by this devil worship." — "But how will it vindicate the honour of God," said he, "while the people will not be able to know what you mean by it, unless you could speak to them, and tell them so? and then they will fight you, and beat you too, I'll assure you, for they are desperate fellows, and that especially in defence of their idolatry." — "Can we not," said I, "do it in the night, and then leave them the reasons and causes in writing, in their own language?" — "Writing!" said he; "why, there is not a man in five nations of them that know anything of a letter, or how to read a word in any language, or in their own." — "Wretched ignorance!" said I to him; "however, I have a great mind to do it; perhaps Nature may draw inferences from it to them, to let them see how brutish they are to worship such horrid things." — "Look you, sir," said he, "if your zeal prompts you to it so warmly, you must do it; but in the next place I would have you consider these wild nations of people are subjected by force to the Czar of Muscovy's dominions; and if you do this 't is ten to one

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but they will come by thousands to the governor of Nertchinsk, and complain, and demand satisfaction; and if he cannot give them satisfaction, 't is ten to one but they revolt, and will occasion a new war with all the Tartars in the country."

This, I confess, put new thoughts into my head for a while; but I harped upon the same string still, and all that day I was uneasy to put my project in execution. Towards the evening the Scots merchant met me by accident in our walk about the town, and desired to speak with me. "I believe," said he, "I have put you off of your good design; I have been a little concerned about it since, for I abhor the idol and idolatry as much as you can do." — "Truly," says I, "you have put it off a little as to the execution of it, but you have not put it all out of my thoughts, and I believe I shall do it still before I quit this place, though I were to be delivered up to them for satisfaction." — "No, no," says he; "God forbid they should deliver you up to such a crew of monsters! they shall not do that neither; that would be murdering you indeed." — "Why," says I, "how would they use me?" — "Use you!" says he; "I 'll tell you how they served a poor Russian who affronted them in their worship just as you did, and who they took prisoner after they had lamed him with an arrow, that he could not run away. They took him and stripped him stark naked, and set him up on the top of the idol monster, and stood all round him, and shot as many arrows into him as would stick over his whole body; and then they burnt him, and all the arrows sticking in him, as a sacrifice to the idol." — "And was this the same idol?" — "Yes," says he, "the very same." — "Well," says I, "I 'll tell you a story." So I related the story of our men at Madagascar, and how they burnt and sacked the village there, and killed man,

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woman, and child for their murdering one of our men, just as it is related before; and when I had done, I added that I thought we ought to do so to this village.

He listened very attentively to the story; but when I talked of doing so to that village, says he, "You mistake very much; it was not this village, it was almost a hundred miles from this place; but it was the same idol, for they carry him about in procession all over the country." — "Well then," says I, "then that idol ought to be punished for it; and it shall," says I, "if I live this night out."

In a word, finding me resolute, he liked the design, and told me I should not go alone, but he would go with me, and bring a stout fellow, one of his countrymen, to go also with us; "and one," says he, "as famous for his zeal as you can desire any one to be against such devilish things as these." In a word, he brought me his comrade, a Scotsman, whom he called Captain Richardson; and I gave him a full account of what I had seen, and, in a word, of what I intended; and he told me readily he would go with me if it cost him his life; so we agreed to go, only us three. I had, indeed, proposed it to my partner, but he declined it. He said he was ready to assist me to the utmost, and upon all occasions, for my defence; but that this was an adventure quite out of his way; so, I say, we resolved upon our work, only us three, and my man-servant, and to put it in execution that night about midnight, with all the secrecy imaginable.

However, upon second thoughts we were willing to delay it till the next night, because the caravan being to set forward in the morning, we supposed the governor could not pretend to give them any satisfaction upon us when we were out of his power. The Scots merchant, as steady in his resolution for the enter-

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prise as bold in executing, brought me a Tartar's robe or gown of the sheep-skins, and a bonnet, with a bow and arrows, and had provided the same for himself and his countryman, that the people, if they saw us, should not be able to determine who we were.

All the first night we spent in mixing up some combustible matter with aqua-vitæ, gunpowder, and such other materials as we could get; and having a good quantity of tar in a little pot, about an hour after night we set out upon our expedition.

We came to the place about eleven o'clock at night, and found that the people had not the least jealousy of danger attending their idol; the night was cloudy, yet the moon gave us light enough to see that the idol stood just in the same posture and place that it did before. The people seemed to be all at their rest; only, that in the great hut, or tent, as we called it, where we saw the three priests, whom we mistook for butchers, we saw a light, and going up close to the door we heard people talking, as if there were five or six of them. We concluded, therefore, that if we set the wild-fire to the idol, these men would come out immediately and run up to the place to rescue it from the destruction that we intended for it; and what to do with them we knew not. Once we thought of carrying it away, and setting fire to it at a distance; but when we came to handle it, we found it too bulky for our carriage, so we were at a loss again. The second Scotsman was for setting fire to the tent or hut, and knocking the creatures that were there on the head when they came out; but I could not join with that. I was against killing them, if it was possible to be avoided. "Well then," said the Scots merchant, "I'll tell you what we will do; we will try to take them prisoners, tie their hands behind them, and make them stand still and see their idol destroyed."

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As it happened, we had twine or packthread enough about us, which was used to tie our fireworks together with; so we resolved to attack the people first, and with as little noise as we could. The first thing we did we knocked at the door, which issued just as we desired it; for one of their idol priests came to the door. We immediately seized upon him, stopped his mouth, and tied his hands behind him, and led him to the idol, where we gagged him that he might not make a noise, tied his feet also together, and left him on the ground.

Two of us then waited at the door, expecting that another would come out to see what the matter was; but we waited so long till the third man came back to us, and then nobody coming out, we knocked again gently, and immediately out came two more, and we served them just in the same manner, but were obliged to go all with them, and lay them down by the idol some distance from one another; when going back we found two more were come out to the door, and a third stood between them within the door. We seized the two, and immediately tied them, when the third stepping back, and crying out, my Scots merchant went in after him, and taking out a composition we had made, that would only smoke and stink, he set fire to it, and threw it in among them. By that time the other Scotsman and my man taking charge of the two men who were already bound, and tied together also by the arm, led them away to the idol, and left them there, to see if their idol would relieve them, making haste back to us.

When the fuze we had thrown in had filled the hut with so much smoke that they were almost suffocated, we then threw in a small leather bag of another kind, which flamed like a candle, and following it in we found there was but four people left, who, it seems,

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were two men and two women, and, as we supposed, had been about some of their diabolic sacrifices. They appeared, in short, frighted to death, at least so as to sit trembling and stupid, and not able to speak neither for the smoke.

In a word, we took them, bound them as we had the others, and all without any noise. I should have said we brought them out of the house, or hut, first; for, indeed, we were not able to bear the smoke any more than they were. When we had done this, we carried them all together to the idol. When we came there, we fell to work with him; and first we daubed him all over, and his robes also, with tar and such other stuff as we had, which was tallow mixed with brimstone; then we stopped his eyes, ears, and mouth full of gunpowder; and then we wrapped up a great piece of wild-fire in his bonnet; and then sticking all the combustibles we had brought with us upon him, we looked about to see if we could find anything else to help to burn him; when my man remembered that by the tent or hut, where the men were, there lay a heap of dry forage, whether straw or rushes I do not remember; away he and one of the Scotsmen ran, and fetched their arms full of that. When we had done this, we took all our prisoners, and brought them, having untied their feet and ungagged their mouths, and made them stand up, and set them just before their monstrous idol, and there set fire to the whole.

We stayed by it a quarter of an hour or thereabouts, till the powder in the eyes, and mouth, and ears of the idol blew up, and we could perceive had split and deformed the shape, and in a word, till we saw it burn into a mere block or log of wood; and then setting the dry forage to it, we found it would be quite consumed, when we began to think of going away; but the Scotsman said, "No, we must not go,

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for these poor deluded wretches will all throw themselves into the fire, and burn themselves with the idol." So we resolved to stay till the forage was burnt down too, and then we came away and left them.

In the morning we appeared among our fellow-travellers, exceeding busy in getting ready for our journey; nor could any man suggest that we had been anywhere but in our beds, as travellers might be supposed to be, to fit themselves for the fatigue of that day's journey.

But it did not end so. The next day came a great multitude of the country people, not only of this village, but of a hundred more, for aught I know, to the town gates, and in a most outrageous manner demanded satisfaction of the Russian governor for the insulting their priests, and burning their great Cham-Chi-Thaungu, such a hard name they gave the monstrous creature they worshipped. The people of Nertchinsk were at first in a great consternation; for they said the Tartars were no less than thirty thousand, and that in a few days more would be one hundred thousand strong.

The Russian governor sent out messengers to appease them, and gave them all the good words imaginable. He assured them he knew nothing of it, and that there had not a soul of his garrison been abroad; that it could not be from anybody there; and if they would let him know who it was, they should be exemplarily punished. They returned haughtily that all the country reverenced the great Cham-Chi-Thaungu, who dwelt in the sun, and no mortal would have dared to offer violence to his image but some Christian miscreant, so they called them, it seems; and they therefore denounced war against him and all the Russians, who, they said, were miscreants and Christians.

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The governor, still patient, and unwilling to make a breach, or to have any cause of war alleged to be given by him, the Czar having strictly charged them to treat the conquered country with gentleness and civility, gave them still all the good words he could. At last he told them there was a caravan gone towards Russia that morning, and perhaps it was some of them who had done them this injury; and that if they would be satisfied with that, he would send after them, to inquire into it. This seemed to appease them a little; and accordingly the governor sent after us, and gave us a particular account how the thing was, intimating withal that if any in our caravan had done it they should make their escape; but that whether they had done it or no, we should make all the haste forward that was possible, and that in the meantime he would keep them in play as long as he could.

This was very friendly in the governor. However, when it came to the caravan there was nobody knew anything of the matter; and as for us that were guilty, we were the least of all suspected; none so much as asked us the question. However, the captain of the caravan for the time took the hint that the governor gave us, and we marched or travelled two days and two nights without any considerable stop, and then we lay at a village called Plotbus; nor did we make any long stop here, but hastened on towards Jerawena, another of the Czar of Muscovy's colonies, and where we expected we should be safe. But it is to be observed that here we began, for two or three days' march, to enter upon the vast nameless desert, of which I shall say more in its place, and which if we had now been upon it, it is more than probable we had been all destroyed. It was the second day's march from Plotbus that by the clouds of dust behind us, at a great distance, some of our people

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began to be sensible we were pursued. We had entered the desert, and had passed by a great lake called Schaks-Oser, when we perceived a very great body of horse appear on the other side of the lake to the north, we travelling west. We observed they went away west, as we did, but had supposed we would have taken that side of the lake, whereas we very happily took the south side; and in two days more we saw them not, for they, believing we were still before them, pushed on till they came to the river Uda. This is a very great river when it passes farther north, but where we came to it we found it narrow and fordable.

The third day they either found their mistake, or had intelligence of us, and came pouring in upon us towards the dusk of the evening. We had, to our great satisfaction, just pitched upon a place for our camp which was very convenient for the night; for as we were upon a desert, though but at the beginning of it, that was above five hundred miles over, we had no towns to lodge at, and, indeed, expected none but the city Jerawena, which we had yet two days' march to; the desert, however, had some few woods in it on this side, and little rivers which ran all into the great river Uda. It was in a narrow strait, between two little but very thick woods, that we pitched our little camp for that night, expecting to be attacked in the night.

Nobody knew but ourselves what we were pursued for; but as it was usual for the Mongol Tartars to go about in troops in that desert, so the caravans always fortify themselves every night against them as against armies of robbers; and it was, therefore, no new thing to be pursued. But we had this night, of all the nights of our travels, a most advantageous camp; for we lay between two woods, with a little rivulet running just before our front, so that we

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could not be surrounded or attacked any way but in our front or rear. We took care also to make our front as strong as we could by placing our packs, with our camels and horses, all in a line on the inside of the river, and felling some trees in our rear.

In this posture we encamped for the night; but the enemy was upon us before we had finished our situation. They did not come on us like thieves, as we expected, but sent three messengers to us, to demand the men to be delivered to them that had abused their priests, and burnt their god Cham-Chi-Thaungu with fire, that they might burn them with fire; and upon this, they said they would go away, and do us no farther harm; otherwise, they would burn us all with fire. Our men looked very blank at this message, and began to stare at one another to see who looked with most guilt in their faces; but "nobody" was the word, nobody did it. The leader of the caravan sent word he was well assured it was not done by any of our camp; that we were peaceable merchants travelling on our business; that we had done no harm to them, or to any one else; and that, therefore, they must look farther for their enemies who had injured them, for we were not the people; so desired them not to disturb us, for if they did, we should defend ourselves.

They were far from being satisfied with this for an answer, but a great crowd of them came down in the morning, by break of day, to our camp; but seeing us in such an unaccountable situation, they durst come no farther than the brook in our front, where they stood and showed us such a number, that indeed terrified us very much; for those that spoke least of them, spoke of ten thousand. Here they stood and looked at us a while, and then setting up a great howl, they let fly a crowd of arrows among

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us; but we were well enough fortified for that, for we sheltered under our baggage; and I do not remember that one man of us was hurt.

Some time after this we saw them move a little to our right, and expected them on the rear, when a cunning fellow, a Cossack, as they call them, of Jerawena, in the pay of the Muscovites, calling to the leader of the caravan, said to him, "I'll go send all these people away to Shilka;" this was a city four or five days' journey at least to the south, and rather behind us. So he takes his bow and arrows, and getting on horseback, he rides away from our rear directly, as it were back to Nertchinsk; after this he takes a great circuit about, and comes to the army of the Tartars, as if he had been sent express to tell them a long story, that the people who had burnt the Cham-Chi-Thaungu were gone to Shilka with a caravan of miscreants, as he called them, that is to say, Christians, and that they had resolved to burn the god Schal-Isar, belonging to the Tonguses.

As this fellow was himself a mere Tartar, and perfectly spoke their language, he counterfeited so well, that they all took it from him, and away they drove in a most violent hurry to Shilka, which it seems was five days' journey to the north; and in less than three hours they were entirely out of our sight, and we never heard any more of them, and we never knew whether they went to that other place called Shilka or no. So we passed safely on to the city of Jerawena, where there was a garrison of Muscovites; and there we rested five days, the caravan being exceedingly fatigued with the last day's hard march, and with want of rest in the night.

From this city we had a frightful desert, which held us three and twenty days' march. We furnished ourselves with some tents here, for the better accommodating ourselves in the night; and the leader of

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the caravan procured sixteen carriages, or waggons, of the country for carrying our water and provisions; and these carriages were our defence every night round our little camp; so that had the Tartars appeared, unless they had been very numerous indeed, they would not have been able to hurt us.

We may well be supposed to want rest again after this long journey; for in this desert we saw abundance of the sable-hunters, as they called them. These are all Tartars of the Mongol Tartary, of which this country is a part, and they frequently attack small caravans; but we saw no numbers of them together. I was curious to see the sable skins they catched, but could never speak with any of them, for they durst not come near us, neither durst we straggle from our company to go near them.

After we had passed this desert, we came into a country pretty well inhabited; that is to say, we found towns and castles settled by the Czar of Muscovy with garrisons of stationary soldiers, to protect the caravans, and defend the country against the Tartars, who would otherwise make it very dangerous travelling; and his czarish majesty has given such strict orders for the well guarding the caravans and merchants, that if there are any Tartars heard of in the country, detachments of the garrisons are always sent to see the travellers safe from station to station. And thus the governor of Udinsk, whom I had opportunity to make a visit to by means of the Scots merchant, who was acquainted with him, offered us a guard of fifty men, if we thought there was any danger, to the next station.

I thought long before this, that as we came nearer to Europe we should find the country better peopled, and the people more civilised; but I found myself mistaken in both, for we had yet the nation of the Tonguses to pass through, where we saw the same

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tokens of paganism and barbarity, or worse, than before; only as they were conquered by the Muscovites, and entirely reduced, they were not so dangerous; but for rudeness of manners, idolatry, and multitheism, no people in the world ever went beyond them. They are clothed all in skins of beasts, and their houses are built of the same. You know not a man from a woman, neither by the ruggedness of their countenances or their clothes; and in the winter, when the ground is covered with snow, they live underground, in houses like vaults, which have cavities going from one to another.

If the Tartars had their Cham-Chi-Thaungu for a whole village or country, these had idols in every hut and in every cave; besides, they worship the stars, the sun, the water, the snow; and in a word, everything that they do not understand — and they understand but very little — so that almost every element, every uncommon thing, sets them a-sacrificing.

But I am no more to describe people than countries, any farther than my own story comes to be concerned in them. I met with nothing peculiar to myself in this country, which I reckon was, from the desert which I spoke of last, at least four hundred miles, half of it being another desert, which took us up twelve days' severe travelling, without house, or tree, or bush, but were obliged again to carry our own provisions, as well water as bread. After we were out of this desert, and had travelled two days, we came to Yeniseisk, a Muscovite city or station on the great river Yenisei. This river, they told us, parted Europe from Asia, though our map-makers, as I am told, do not agree to it; however, it is certainly the eastern boundary of the ancient Siberia, which now makes up a province only of the vast Muscovite Empire, but is itself equal in bigness to the whole empire of Germany.

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And yet here I observed ignorance and paganism still prevailed, except in the Muscovite garrisons. All the country between the river Obi and the river Yenisei is as entirely pagan, and the people as barbarous, as the remotest of the Tartars; nay, as any nation, for ought I know, in Asia or America. I also found, which I observed to the Muscovite governors, whom I had opportunity to converse with, that the poor pagans are not much the wiser, or the nearer Christianity, for being under the Muscovite government, which they acknowledged was true enough, but as they said, was none of their business; that if the Czar expected to convert his Siberian, or Tonguse, or Tartar subjects, it should be done by sending clergymen among them, not soldiers; and they added, with more sincerity than I expected, that they found it was not so much the concern of their monarch to make the people Christians, as it was to make them subjects.

From this river to the great river Obi we crossed a wild and uncultivated country; I cannot say 't is a barren soil; 't is only barren of people, and good management, otherwise it is in itself a most pleasant, fruitful, and agreeable country. What inhabitants we found in it are all pagans, except such as are sent among them from Russia; for this is the country, I mean on both sides the river Obi, whither the Muscovite criminals, that are not put to death, are banished, and from whence it is next to impossible they should ever come away.

I have nothing material to say of my particular affairs till I came to Tobolsk, the capital city of Siberia, where I continued some time on the following occasion.

We had been now almost seven months on our journey, and winter began to come on apace, whereupon my partner and I called a council about our

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particular affairs, in which we found it proper, considering that we were bound for England, and not for Moscow, to consider how to dispose of ourselves. They told us of sledges and reindeer to carry us over the snow in the winter-time; and, indeed, they have such things, that it would be incredible to relate the particulars of, by which means the Russians travel more in the winter than they can in summer, because in these sledges they are able to run all night and day; the snow being frozen, is one universal covering to Nature, by which the hills, the vales, the rivers, the lakes all are smooth, and hard as a stone, and they run upon the surface without any regard to what is underneath.

But I had no occasion to push at a winter journey of this kind. I was bound to England, not to Moscow, and my route lay two ways; either I must go on, as the caravan went, till I came to Jaroslav, and then go off west for Narva and the Gulf of Finland, and so either by sea or land to Dantzic, where I might possibly sell my China cargo to good advantage, or I must leave the caravan at a little town on the Dwina, from whence I had but six days by water to Archangel, and from thence might be sure of shipping either to England, Holland, or Hamburg.

Now to go any of these journeys in the winter would have been preposterous; for as to Dantzic, the Baltic would be frozen up, and I could not get passage; and to go by land in those countries, was far less safe than among the Mongol Tartars; likewise to go to Archangel in October, all the ships would be gone from thence, and even the merchants, who dwell there in summer, retire south to Moscow in the winter when the ships are gone, so that I should have nothing but extremity of cold to encounter, with a scarcity of provisions, and must lie there in an empty town all the winter; so that, upon the

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whole, I thought it a much better way to let the caravan go, and to make provision to winter where I was, viz., at Tobolsk, in Siberia, in the latitude of [fifty-eight] degrees, where I was sure of three things to wear out a cold winter with, viz., plenty of provision, such as the country afforded, a warm house, with fuel enough, and excellent company; of all which I shall give a full account in its place.

I was now in a quite different climate from my beloved island, where I never felt cold, except when I had my ague; on the contrary, I had much to do to bear my clothes on my back, and never made any fire but without doors, and for my necessity, in dressing my food, &c. Now I made me three good vests, with large robes or gowns over them, to hang down to the feet, and button close to the wrists, and all these lined with furs, to make them sufficiently warm.

As to a warm house, I must confess I greatly disliked our way in England of making fires in every room in the house, in open chimneys, which, when the fire was out, always kept the air in the room cold as the climate; but taking an apartment in a good house in the town, I ordered a chimney to be built like a furnace, in the centre of six several rooms, like a stove; the funnel to carry the smoke went up one way, the door to come at the fire went in another, and all the rooms were kept equally warm, but no fire seen, just as they heat the bagnios in England.

By this means we had always the same climate in all the rooms, and an equal heat was preserved; and how cold soever it was without, it was always warm within; and yet we saw no fire, nor was incommoded with any smoke.

The most wonderful thing of all was, that it should be possible to meet with good company here, in a country so barbarous as that of the most

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northerly parts of Europe, near the Frozen ocean, and within but a very few degrees of Nova Zembla.

But this being the country where the state criminals of Muscovy, as I observed before, are all banished, this city was full of noblemen, princes, gentlemen, colonels, and, in short, all degrees of the nobility, gentry, soldiery, and courtiers of Muscovy. Here was the famous Prince Galliozen, the old General Robostiski, and several other persons of note, and some ladies.

By means of my Scots merchant, whom, nevertheless, I parted with here, I made an acquaintance here with several of these gentlemen, and some of them of the first rank; and from these in the long winter nights in which I stayed here I received several very agreeable visits. It was talking one night with Prince . . . . . one of the banished ministers of state belonging to the Czar of Muscovy, that my talk of my particular case began. He had been telling me abundance of fine things of the greatness, the magnificence, the dominions, and the absolute power of the Emperor of the Russians. I interrupted him, and told him I was a greater and more powerful prince than ever the Czar of Muscovy was, though my dominions were not so large, or my people so many. The Russian grandee looked a little surprised, and fixing his eyes steadily upon me, began to wonder what I meant.

I told him his wonder would cease when I had explained myself. First, I told him I had the absolute disposal of the lives and fortunes of all my subjects; that notwithstanding my absolute power, I had not one person disaffected to my government or to my person in all my dominions. He shook his head at that, and said, there indeed I outdid the Czar of Muscovy. I told him that all the lands in my kingdom were my own, and all my subjects were not

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only my tenants, but tenants at will; that they would all fight for me to the last drop; and that never tyrant, for such I acknowledged myself to be, was ever so universally beloved, and yet so horribly feared, by his subjects.

After amusing them with these riddles in government for a while, I opened the case, and told them the story at large of my living in the island, and how I managed both myself and the people there that were under me, just as I have since minuted it down. They were exceedingly taken with the story, and especially the prince, who told me with a sigh that the true greatness of life was to be master of ourselves; that he would not have exchanged such a state of life as mine to have been Czar of Muscovy; and that he found more felicity in the retirement he seemed to be banished to there, than ever he found in the highest authority he enjoyed in the court of his master the Czar; that the height of human wisdom was to bring our tempers down to our circumstances, and to make a calm within, under the weight of the greatest storm without. When he came first hither, he said, he used to tear the hair from his head, and the clothes from his back, as others had done before him; but a little time and consideration had made him look into himself, as well as round him, to things without; that he found the mind of man, if it was but once brought to reflect upon the state of universal life, and how little this world was concerned in its true felicity, was perfectly capable of making a felicity for itself, fully satisfying to itself, and suitable to its own best ends and desires, with but very little assistance from the world; that air to breathe in, food to sustain life, clothes for warmth, and liberty for exercise in order to health, completed, in his opinion, all that the world could do for us; and though the greatness,

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the authority, the riches, and the pleasures which some enjoyed in the world, and which he had enjoyed his share of, had much in them that was agreeable to us, yet he observed that all those things chiefly gratified the coarsest of our affections, such as our ambition, our particular pride, our avarice, our vanity, and our sensuality; all which were, indeed, the mere product of the worst part of man, were in themselves crimes, and had in them the seeds of all manner of crimes; but neither were related to, or concerned with, any of those virtues that constituted us wise men, or of those graces which distinguished us as Christians; that being now deprived of all the fancied felicity which he enjoyed in the full exercise of all those vices, he said he was at leisure to look upon the dark side of them, where he found all manner of deformity; and was now convinced that virtue only makes a man truly wise, rich, and great, and preserves him in the way to a superior happiness in a future state; and in this, he said, they were more happy in their banishment than all their enemies were, who had the full possession of all the wealth and power that they, the banished, had left behind them.

"Nor, sir," says he, "do I bring my mind to this politically by the necessity of my circumstances, which some call miserable; but if I know anything of myself, I would not now go back, though the Czar, my master, should call me, and reinstate me in all my former grandeur; I say, I would no more go back to it, than I believe my soul, when it shall be delivered from this prison of the body, and has had a taste of the glorious state beyond life, would come back to the gaol of flesh and blood it is now inclosed in, and leave heaven to deal in the dirt and crime of human affairs."

He spoke this with so much warmth in his temper,

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so much earnestness and motion of his spirits, which were apparent in his countenance, that it was evident it was the true sense of his soul; there was no room to doubt his sincerity.

I told him I once thought myself a kind of a monarch in my old station, of which I had given him an account, but that I thought he was not a monarch only, but a great conqueror; for that he that has got a victory over his own exorbitant desires, and has the absolute dominion over himself, whose reason entirely governs his will, is certainly greater than he that conquers a city. "But, my lord," said I, "shall I take the liberty to ask you a question?" — "With all my heart," says he. — "If the door of your liberty was opened," said I, "would you not take hold of it to deliver yourself from this exile?"

"Hold," said he, "your question is subtle, and requires some serious just distinctions to give it a sincere answer, and I 'll give it you from the bottom of my heart. Nothing that I know of in this world would move me to deliver myself from this state of banishment, except these two; first, the enjoyment of my relations; and, secondly, a little warmer climate. But I protest to you, that to go back to the pomp of the court, the glory, the power, the hurry of a minister of state, the wealth, the gaiety, and the pleasures, that is to say, follies of a courtier; if my master should send me word this moment that he restores me to all he banished me from, I protest, if I know myself at all, I would not leave this wilderness, these deserts, and these frozen lakes, for the palace at Moscow."

"But, my lord," said I, "perhaps you not only are banished from the pleasure of the court, and from the power, and authority, and wealth, you enjoyed before, but you may be absent too from some of the conveniences of life; your estate, perhaps, con-

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fiscated, and your effects plundered; and the supplies left you here may not be suitable to the ordinary demands of life."

"Ay," says he, "that is, as you suppose me to be a lord, or a prince, &c. So indeed I am; but you are now to consider me only as a man, a human creature, not at all distinguished from another; and so I can suffer no want, unless I should be visited with sickness and distempers. However, to put the question out of dispute, you see our manner; we are in this place five persons of rank; we live perfectly retired, as suited to a state of banishment; we have something rescued from the shipwreck of our fortunes, which keeps us from the mere necessity of hunting for our food; but the poor soldiers who are here, without that help, live in as much plenty as we, who go into the woods and catch sables and foxes; the labour of a month will maintain them a year; and as the way of living is not expensive, so it is not hard to get sufficient to ourselves; so that objection is out of doors."

I have not room to give a full account of the most agreeable conversation I had with this truly great man, in all which he showed that his mind was so inspired with a superior knowledge of things, so supported by religion as well as by a vast share of wisdom, that his contempt of the world was really as much as he had expressed, and that he was always the same to the last, as will appear in the story I am going to tell.

I had been here eight months, and a dark, dreadful winter I thought it to be, the cold so intense, that I could not so much as look about without being wrapped in furs, and a mask of fur before my face, or rather a hood, with only a hole for breath, and two for sight. The little daylight we had was, as we reckoned, for three months, not above five

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hours a day, and six at most; only that the snow lying on the ground continually, and the weather clear, it was never quite dark. Our horses were kept, or rather starved, underground; and as for our servants, for we hired three servants here to look after our horses and selves, we had every now and then their fingers and toes to thaw, and take care of, lest they should mortify and fall off.

It is true within doors we were warm, the houses being close, the walls thick, the lights small, and the glass all double. Our food was chiefly the flesh of deer, dried and cured in the season; good bread enough, but baked as biscuits; dried fish of several sorts, and some flesh of mutton, and of the buffaloes, which is pretty good beef. All the stores of provision for the winter are laid up in the summer, and well cured. Our drink was water mixed with aquavitæ instead of brandy; and for a treat, mead instead of wine, which, however, they have excellent good. The hunters, who venture abroad all weathers, frequently brought us in fresh venison, very fat and good; and sometimes bear's flesh, but we did not much care for the last. We had a good stock of tea, with which we treated our friends, as above; and, in a word, we lived very cheerfully and well all things considered.

It was now March and the days grown considerably longer, and the weather at least tolerable, so the other travellers began to prepare sleds to carry them over the snow, and to get things ready to be going; but my measures being fixed, as I have said, for Archangel, and not to Muscovy or the Baltic, I made no motion, knowing very well that the ships from the south do not set out for that part of the world till May or June, and that if I was there by the beginning of August, it would be as soon as any ships would be ready to go away, and therefore, I

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say, I, made no haste to be gone, as others did; in a word, I saw a great many people — nay, all the travellers — go away before me. It seems every year they go from hence to Moscow for trade, viz., to carry furs and buy necessaries with them, which they bring back to furnish their shops; also others went of the same errand to Archangel, but then they also, being to come back again above eight hundred miles, went all out before me.

In short, about the latter end of May I began to make all ready to pack up; and as I was doing this, it occurred to me that seeing all these people were banished by the Czar of Muscovy to Siberia, and yet when they came there were left at liberty to go whither they would, why did they not then go away to any part of the world wherever they thought fit? and I began to examine what should hinder them from making such an attempt.

But my wonder was over when I entered upon that subject with the person I have mentioned, who answered me thus: "Consider first, sir," said he, "the place where we are, and secondly, the condition we are in; especially," said he, "the generality of the people who are banished hither. We are surrounded," said he, "with stronger things than bars and bolts; on the north side an unnavigable ocean, where ship never sailed, and boat never swam; neither, if we had both, could we know where to go with them. Every other way," said he, "we have above a thousand miles to pass through the Czar's own dominions, and by ways utterly unpassable except by the roads made by the governor, and by the towns garrisoned by his troops, so that we could neither pass undiscovered by the road, or subsist any other way, so that it is in vain to attempt it."

I was silenced indeed at once, and found that they were in a prison every jot as secure as if they had

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been locked up in the castle at Moscow. However, it came into my thought that I might certainly be made an instrument to procure the escape of this excellent person, and that whatever hazard I ran, I would certainly try if I could carry him off. Upon this I took an occasion one evening to tell him my thoughts. I represented to him that it was very easy for me to carry him away, there being no guard over him in the country; and as I was not going to Moscow, but to Archangel, and that I went in the nature of a caravan, by which I was not obliged to lie in the stationary towns in the desert, but could encamp every night where I would, we might easily pass uninterrupted to Archangel, where I would immediately secure him on board an English or Dutch ship and carry him off safe along with me; and as to his subsistence and other particulars, it should be my care till he could better supply himself.

He heard me very attentively, and looked earnestly on me all the while I spoke; nay, I could see in his very face that what I said put his spirits into an exceeding ferment; his colour frequently changed, his eyes looked red, and his heart fluttered, that it might be even perceived in his countenance, nor could he immediately answer me when I had done, and, as it were, expected what he would say to it; but after he had paused a little, he embraced me, and said, "How happy are we, unguarded creatures as we are, that even our greatest acts of friendship are made snares to us, and we are made tempters of one another! My dear friend," said he, "your offer is so sincere, has such kindness in it, is so disinterested in itself, and is so calculated for my advantage, that I must have very little knowledge of the world if I did not both wonder at it and acknowledge the obligation I have upon me to you for it. But did you believe I was sincere in what I have so often said

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to you of my contempt of the world? Did you believe I spoke my very soul to you, and that I had really obtained that degree of felicity here, that had placed me above all that the world could give me, or do for me? Did you believe I was sincere when I told you I would not go back, if I was recalled even to all that once I was in the court, with the favour of the Czar my master? Did you believe me, my friend, to be an honest man? or did you think me to be a boasting hypocrite?" Here he stopped as if he would hear what I would say; but indeed I soon after perceived that he stopped because his spirits were in motion; his great heart was full of struggles, and he could not go on. I was, I confess, astonished at the thing as well as at the man, and I used some arguments with him to urge him to set himself free; that he ought to look upon this as a door opened by Heaven for his deliverance, and a summons by Providence, who has the care and disposition of all events, to do himself good, and to render himself useful in the world.

He had by this time recovered himself. "How do you know, sir," says he warmly, "that instead of a summons from Heaven it may not be a feint of another instrument, representing in all the alluring colours to me the show of felicity as a deliverance, which may in itself be my snare, and tend directly to my ruin? Here I am, free from the temptation of returning to my former miserable greatness; there I am not sure but that all the seeds of pride, ambition, avarice, and luxury, which I know remain in nature, may revive and take root, and in a word, again overwhelm me; and then the happy prisoner, whom you see now master of his soul's liberty, shall be the miserable slave of his own senses, in the full of all personal liberty. Dear sir, let me remain in this blessed confinement, banished from the crimes

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of life, rather than purchase a show of freedom at the expense of the liberty of my reason, and at the expense of the future happiness which now I have in my view, but shall then, I fear, quickly lose sight of; for I am but flesh, a man, a mere man, have passions and affections as likely to possess and overthrow me as any man. Oh, be not my friend and my tempter both together!"

If I was surprised before, I was quite dumb now, and stood silent, looking at him, and indeed admired at what I saw. The struggle in his soul was so great, that though the weather was extremely cold it put him into a most violent sweat, and I found he wanted to give vent to his mind; so I said a word or two, that I would leave him to consider of it, and wait on him again, and then I withdrew to my own apartment.

About two hours after I heard somebody at or near the door of my room, and I was going to open the door; but he had opened it, and came in. "My dear friend," says he, "you had almost overset me, but I am recovered; do not take it ill that I do not close with your offer; I assure you 't is not for want of a sense of the kindness of it in you, and I came to make the most sincere acknowledgment of it to you; but I hope I have got the victory over myself."

"My lord," said I, "I hope you are fully satisfied that you do not resist the call of Heaven."—"Sir," said he, "if it had been from Heaven, the same Power would have influenced me to accept it; but I hope, and am fully satisfied, that it is from Heaven that I decline it; and I have an infinite satisfaction in the parting, that you shall leave me an honest man still, though not a free man."

I had nothing to do but to acquiesce, and make professions to him of my having no end in it but a

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sincere desire to serve him. He embraced me very passionately, and assured me he was sensible of that, and should always acknowledge it; and with that he offered me a very fine present of sables, too much indeed for me to accept from a man in his circumstances; and I would have avoided them, but he would not be refused.

The next morning I sent my servant to his lordship with a small present of tea and two pieces of China damask and four little wedges of Japan gold, which did not all weigh above six ounces or thereabout, but were far short of the value of his sables, which indeed when I came to England I found worth near £200. He accepted the tea and one piece of the damask and one of the pieces of gold, which had a fine stamp upon it of the Japan coinage, which I found he took for the rarity of it, but would not take any more, and he sent word by my servant that he desired to speak with me.

When I came to him, he told me I knew what had passed between us, and hoped I would not move him any more in that affair; but that since I had made such a generous offer to him, he asked me if I had kindness enough to offer the same to another person that he would name to me, in whom he had a great share of concern. I told him that I could not say I inclined to do so much for any one but himself, for whom I had a particular value, and should have been glad to have been the instrument of his deliverance. However, if he would please to name the person to me, I would give him my answer, and hoped he would not be displeased with me if he was with my answer. He told me it was only his son, whom, though I had not seen, yet was in the same condition with himself, and above two hundred miles from him, on the other side the Obi; but that if I consented, he would send for him.

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I made no hesitation, but told him I would do it. I made some ceremony in letting him understand that it was wholly on his account and that seeing I could not prevail on him, I would show my respect to him by my concern for his son; but these things are too tedious to repeat here. He sent away the next day for his son, and in about twenty days he came back with the messenger, bringing six or seven horses loaded with very rich furs, and which, in the whole, amounted to a very great value. His servants brought the horses into the town, but left the young lord at a distance till night, when he came incognito into our apartment, and his father presented him to me, and in short, we concerted there the manner of our travelling, and everything proper for the journey.

I had bought a considerable quantity of sables, black fox-skins, fine ermines, and such other furs as are very rich; I say, I had bought them in that city in exchange for some of the goods I brought from China; in particular for the cloves and nutmegs, of which I sold the greatest part here, and the rest afterwards at Archangel, for a much better price than I could have done at London; and my partner, who was sensible of the profit, and whose business, more particularly than mine, was merchandise, was mightily pleased with our stay on account of the traffic we made here.

It was the beginning of June when I left this remote place, a city, I believe, little heard of in the world; and indeed it is so far out of the road of commerce, that I know not how it should be much talked of. We were now come to a very small caravan, being only thirty-two horses and camels in all, and all of them passed for mine, though my new guest was proprietor of eleven of them. It was most natural also that I should take more servants

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with me than I had before, and the young lord passed for my steward; what great man I passed for myself I know not, neither did it concern me to inquire. We had here the worst and the largest desert to pass over that we met with in all the journey; indeed I call it the worst, because the way was very deep in some places, and very uneven in others; the best we had to say for it was, that we thought we had no troops of Tartars and robbers to fear, and that they never came on this side the Obi, or at least but very seldom; but we found it otherwise.

My young lord had with him a faithful Muscovite servant, or rather a Siberian servant, who was perfectly acquainted with the country, and led us by private roads that we avoided coming into the principal towns and cities upon the great road, such as Tuimen, Solikamsk, and several others, because the Muscovite garrisons which are kept there are very curious and strict in their observation upon travellers, and searching lest any of the banished persons of note should make their escape that way into Muscovy; but by this means, as we were kept out of the cities, so our whole journey was a desert, and we were obliged to encamp and lie in our tents, when we might have had very good accommodation in the cities on the way. This the young lord was so sensible of, that he would not allow us to lie abroad when we came to several cities on the way, but lay abroad himself with his servant in the woods, and met us always at the appointed places.

We were just entered Europe, having passed the river Kama, which in these parts is the boundary between Europe and Asia; and the first city on the European side was called Solikamsk, which is as much as to say, the great city on the river Kama; and here we thought to have seen some evident alteration in the people, their manner, their habit,

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their religion, and their business; but we were mistaken; for as we had a vast desert to pass, which by relation is near seven hundred miles long in some places, but not above two hundred miles over where we passed it, so till we came past that horrible place we found very little difference between that country and the Mongol Tartary; the people most pagans, and little better than the savages of America; their houses and towns full of idols, and their way of living wholly barbarous, except in the cities as above, and the villages near them; where there are Christians, as they call themselves, of the Greek Church, but have their religion mingled with so many relics of superstition, that it is scarce to be known in some places from mere sorcery and witchcraft.

In passing this forest, I thought indeed we must, after all our dangers were, in our imagination, escaped, as before, have been plundered and robbed, and perhaps murdered, by a troop of thieves; of what country they were, whether the roving bands of the Ostiaks, a kind of Tartars, or wild people on the bank of the Obi, and ranged thus far, or whether they were the sable-hunters of Siberia, I am yet at a loss to know; but they were all on horseback, carried bows and arrows, and were at first about five and forty in number. They came so near to us as within about two musket-shot; and asking no questions, they surrounded us with their horse, and looked very earnestly upon us twice. At length they placed themselves just in our way, upon which we drew up in a little line before our camels, being not above sixteen men in all; and being drawn up thus we halted, and sent out the Siberian servant who attended his lord to see who they were. His master was the more willing to let him go, because he was not a little apprehensive that they were a Siberian troop sent out after him. The man came

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up near them with a flag of truce, and called them; but though he spoke several of their languages, or dialects of languages rather, he could not understand a word they said. However, after some signs to him not to come nearer to them at his peril, so he said he understood them to mean, offering to shoot at him if he advanced, the fellow came back no wiser than he went, only that by their dress, he said he believed them to be some Tartars of Kalmuck, or of Circassian hordes; and that there must be more of them upon the great desert, though he never heard that any of them ever were seen so far north before.

This was small comfort to us; however, we had no remedy. There was on our left hand, at about a quarter of a mile's distance, a little grove or clump of trees, which stood close together, and very near the road. I immediately resolved we would advance to those trees, and fortify ourselves as well as we could there; for first, I considered that the trees would in a great measure cover us from their arrows; and in the next place, they could not come to charge us in a body. It was indeed my old Portuguese pilot who proposed it, and who had this excellency attending him, namely, that he was always readiest and most apt to direct and encourage us in cases of the most danger. We advanced immediately with what speed we could and gained that little wood, the Tartars, or thieves, for we know not what to call them, keeping their stand, and not attempting to hinder us. When we came thither, we found to our great satisfaction that it was a swampy, springy piece of ground, and on the one side a very great spring of water, which running out in a little rill or brook, was a little farther joined by another of the like bigness, and was, in short, the head or source of a considerable river, called afterwards the Wirtska. The trees which grew about this spring

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were not in all above two hundred, but were very large, and stood pretty thick, so that as soon as we got in we saw ourselves perfectly safe from the enemy, unless they alighted and attacked us on foot. But to make this more difficult our Portuguese, with indefatigable application, cut down great arms of the trees, and laid them hanging, not quite cut off, from one tree to another, so that he made a continued fence almost round us.

We stayed here waiting the motion of the enemy some hours, without perceiving they made any motion; when, about two hours before night, they came down directly upon us; and though we had not perceived it, we found they had been joined by some more of the same, so that they were near fourscore horse, whereof, however, we fancied some were women. They came on till they were within half shot of our little wood, when we fired one musket without ball, and called to them in the Russian tongue to know what they wanted, and bid them keep off; but as if they knew nothing of what we said, they came on with a double fury directly up to the wood-side, not imagining we were so barricaded that they could not break in. Our old pilot was our captain, as well as he had been our engineer, and desired of us not to fire upon them till they came within pistol-shot, and that we might be sure to kill, and that when we did fire we should be sure to take good aim. We bade him give the word of command, which he delayed so long that they were, some of them, within two pikes' length of us when we fired.

We aimed so true, or Providence directed our shot so sure, that we killed fourteen of them and wounded several others, as also several of their horses; for we had all of us loaded our pieces with two or three bullets at least.

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They were terribly surprised with our fire, and retreated immediately about one hundred rods from us, in which time we loaded our pieces again, and seeing them keep that distance, we sallied out, and catched four or five of their horses, whose riders, we suppose, were killed; and coming up to the dead, we could easily perceive they were Tartars, but knew not from what country, or how they came to make an excursion such an unusual length.

About an hour after they made a motion to attack us again, and rode round our little wood to see where else they might break in; but finding us always ready to face them, they went off again, and we resolved not to stir from the place for that night.

We slept little you may be sure, but spent the most part of the night in strengthening our situation, and barricading the entrances into the wood, and keeping a strict watch. We waited for daylight, and when it came, it gave us a very unwelcome discovery indeed; for the enemy, whom we thought were discouraged with the reception they had met with, were now increased to no less than three hundred, and had set up eleven or twelve huts and tents, as if they were resolved to besiege us; and this little camp they had pitched upon the open plain, at about three-quarters of a mile from us. We were indeed surprised at this discovery; and now, I confess, I gave myself over for lost, and all that I had. The loss of my effects did not lie so near me, though they were very considerable, as the thoughts of falling into the hands of such barbarians at the latter end of my journey, after so many difficulties and hazards as I had gone through, and even in sight of our port, where we expected safety and deliverance. As for my partner, he was raging; he declared that to lose his goods would be his ruin, and he would rather die than be starved, and he was for fighting to the last drop.

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The young lord, as gallant as ever flesh showed itself, was for fighting to the last also; and my old pilot was of the opinion we were able to resist them all in the situation we were then in, and thus we spent the day in debates of what we should do; but towards evening we found that the number of our enemies still increased. Perhaps, as they were abroad in several parties for prey, the first had sent out scouts to call for help, and to acquaint them of the booty; and we did not know but by the morning they might still be a greater number; so I began to inquire of those people we had brought from Tobolsk if there was no other, or more private ways, by which we might avoid them in the night, and perhaps either retreat to some town, or get help to guard us over the desert.

The Siberian, who was servant to the young lord, told us if we designed to avoid them and not fight, he would engage to carry us off in the night to a way that went north towards the Petrov, by which he made no question but we might get away, and the Tartars never the wiser, but he said his lord had told him he would not retreat, but would rather choose to fight. I told him he mistook his lord, for that he was too wise a man to love fighting for the sake of it; that I knew his lord was brave enough by what he had showed already; but that his lord knew better than to desire to have seventeen or eighteen men fight five hundred, unless an unavoidable necessity forced them to it; and that if he thought it possible for us to escape in the night, we had nothing else to do but to attempt it. He answered, if his lord gave him such orders, he would lose his life if he did not perform it. We soon brought his lord to give that order, though privately, and we immediately prepared for the putting it in practice.

And first, as soon as it began to be dark we kin-

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dled a fire in our little camp, which we kept burning, and prepared so as to make it burn all night, that the Tartars might conclude we were still there; but as soon as it was dark, that is to say, so as we could see the stars, for our guide would not stir before, having all our horses and camels ready loaded, we followed our new guide, who, I soon found, steered himself by the pole or north star, all the country being level for a long way.

After we had travelled two hours very hard it began to be lighter still, not that it was quite dark all night, but the moon began to rise, so that, in a word, it was rather lighter than we wished it to be; by six o'clock the next morning we were gotten near forty miles, though the truth is we almost spoiled our horses. Here we found a Russian village named Kermazinskoy [? Kertchemskoy], where we rested, and heard nothing of the Kalmuck Tartars that day. About two hours before night we set out again, and travelled till eight the next morning, though not quite so quiet as before; and about seven o'clock we passed a little river called Kirtza, and came to a good large town inhabited by Russians, and very populous, called Ozomoys [?]. There we heard that several troops or hordes of Kalmucks had been abroad upon the desert, but that we were now completely out of danger of them, which was to our great satisfaction, you may be sure. Here we were obliged to get some fresh horses, and having need enough of rest, we stayed five days; and my partner and I agreed to give the honest Siberian who brought us thither the value of ten pistoles for his conducting us.

In five days more we came to Veuslima [?], upon the river Vychegda, and running into the Dwina; we were there very happily near the end of our travels by land, that river being navigable in seven

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days' passage to Archangel. From hence we came to Lawrenskoy [? Jarensk] the 3rd of July, and providing ourselves with two luggage-boats and a barge for our own convenience, we embarked the 7th, and arrived all safe at Archangel the 18th, having been a year and five months and three days on the journey, including our stay of eight months and odd days at Tobolsk.

We were obliged to stay at this place six weeks for the arrival of the ships, and must have tarried longer had not a Hamburger come in above a month sooner than any of the English ships, when, after some consideration that the city of Hamburg might happen to be as good a market for our goods as London, we all took freight with him; and having put my goods on board, it was most natural for me to put my steward on board to take care of them, by which means my young lord had a sufficient opportunity to conceal himself, never coming on shore in all the time we stayed there; and this he did, that he might not be seen in the city, where some of the Moscow merchants would certainly have seen and discovered him.

We sailed from Archangel the 20th of August the same year, and after no extraordinary bad voyage arrived in the Elbe the 13th of September. Here my partner and I found a very good sale for our goods, as well those of China as the sables, &c., of Siberia; and dividing the produce of our effects, my share amounted to £3475, 17s. 3d., notwithstanding so many losses we had sustained, and charges we had been at; only remembering that I had included in this about six hundred pounds' worth of diamonds, which I had purchased at Bengal.

Here the young lord took his leave of us, and went up the Elbe in order to go to the court of Vienna, where he resolved to seek protection, and

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where he could correspond with those of his father's friends who were left alive. He did not part without all the testimonies he could give me of gratitude for the service I had done him, and his sense of my kindness to the prince his father.

To conclude. Having stayed near four months in Hamburg, I came from thence overland to the Hague, where I embarked in the packet, and arrived in London the 10th of January 1705, having been gone from England ten years and nine months.

And here resolving to harass myself no more, I am preparing for a longer journey than all these, having lived seventy-two years a life of infinite variety, and learnt sufficiently to know the value of retirement, and the blessing of ending our days in peace.

END OF VOL. II.

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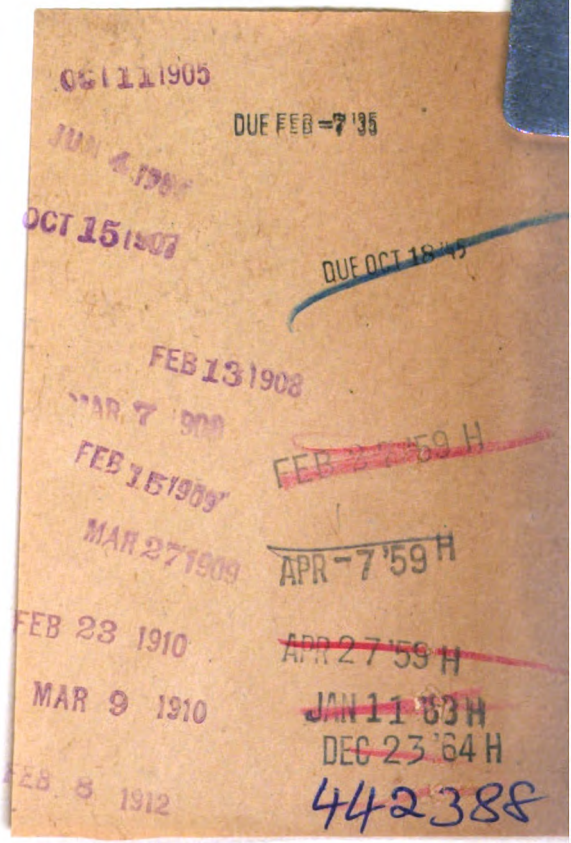

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